NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCXCIV

SEPTEMBER, 1913

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

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CAN the factions which prior to 1912 composed the Republican party be reunited; and if so upon what common grounds, and what should be done to bring such reunion about?

Before attempting an analysis of the differences between the opposing elements a few general observations are appropriate.

Every permanent political party is identified by a few well-defined principles. These principles form its groundwork, and are substantially unchangeable. A radical departure from them would destroy the identity of the party, and would forfeit the right to a use of its name. However, there may come about such a change in conditions as to justify a material modification of their application. When the exact conditions are not generally known, a difference of opinion as to the application of one or more of them may be entertained, and factions be thus created; but this does not affect the principle itself; and as reasonable men can agree upon a method of ascertaining the facts, there is no justification for such a division to become permanent.

Again, the changing conditions in society present from

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time to time new questions. These questions generally relate to some supposed need, which is either soon met or is shown not to exist, and, therefore, passes out of consideration. For illustration, for some years previous to 1893, there was a demand that railroad companies equip their rolling stock with safety appliances. In that year, after extensive hearings, such an act was passed, which has since been extended by amendments, and as there is no demand now even upon the part of the railroad companies for its repeal, that question no longer exists. Questions of this character are in a broad sense political, because they relate to the welfare of society, and require consideration by legislative bodies; but it is often better that they be kept out of the wrangle of organized politics altogether. It is not every good principle relating to human need or conduct that should be incorporated into political platforms. The merits of many principles are so palpable that it must be assumed that they are generally favored by the public. Furthermore, it is not infrequent that a meritorious measure is defeated because it is championed by the minority party.

It is apparent that such questions are continually arising, and that about some of them there may be many shades of belief. Hence, if a platform embraces many of them, some adherents of the party are certain to be more or less out of line with its declared principles. But as every citizen can not have a platform which conforms to his ideas in every respect, he is not justified in abandoning the party for that reason unless the declaration from which he dissents be of such importance as to overshadow for the time being the party's permanent principles.

As the National Government is separate from the several State governments, so in a very large measure should National politics be kept separate from the politics of the several States. In each State the National and State laws supplement each other, the two together making a harmonious whole. So in politics the National platform should be confined to National policies and the State platform should supplement the principles there declared by setting forth the principles which the party favors in conducting the affairs of the State. The conditions of society in one State may be entirely different from its condition in another, and hence a local policy good for one might be disastrous

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to another. The fact that the sentiment of society relating to a principle applicable to local government only is opposite in one State to what it is in another, can afford no valid reason why the majority in both should not favor the same party nationally. What right has a Republican in Massachusetts to impose his views as to some local matter upon the Republicans of California? Each State has its own local problems, and the party therein should be left to choose its own attitude as to them; and it is apparent that if a party's National policies are sound, the citizen who believes in them is not best conserving the interests of his country by abandoning the party nationally, because he can not quite agree with some of its local policies. There are, however, certain principles which apply to both State and National Government, as for illustration, laws relating to commerce. Congress may enact laws regulating *interstate* commerce, while purely *intrastate* commerce must be controlled by State laws. But even in such instances the National platform should not be considered binding as to what attitude should be taken upon the subject by the party in each State, because the conditions in one locality may be entirely different from what they are generally, and the party in the State must be permitted to decide for itself what policy it will adopt locally.

One more general observation. In these latter days the word "progressive" is much in use. There are "progressive" Republicans, and others who feel that they can not afford longer to be called Republicans, yet there is much doubt as to the real difference between these Progressives and those who are still content with the old party name. It is certain that the shades of belief among the many varieties of Progressives are about as distinct as between some of them and the so-called "Stand Patters" or old-line Republicans. The real condition appears to be that there has been within the last few years a shifting of political ideals along rather indefinite lines, but arising largely from the belief that public servants have not had proper regard for the public welfare. It may be that some Republicans have hardly kept pace with this change of sentiment; but this was because the country has prospered under old-time Republican policies; and they regard the evidence insufficient to warrant the belief that a radical change would be profitable, and not because of any

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corrupt motives or desire to oppress the masses for the benefit of the few, as has been often charged. The leaders of these various factions are in the main patriots; and certainly there is no reason why the rank and file should not desire to promote the welfare of the country. If there could be a temperate exchange of views, it would be found that all desire the principles and policies of the Republican party to be such as would best conserve the public interests under the conditions now existing, and that the differences of opinion as to those policies are not nearly so great as the heated controversy through which we have passed is supposed to indicate.

How can these differences be so very great? There was no controversy as to principles in the preconvention contest in 1908, or in the convention held in that year, nor was there during the ensuing campaign any desertion from the party or any complaint among its adherents resulting from its declaration of principles. It was generally understood that the party platform then adopted was prepared in Washington, and received the express sanction of some who are now the leaders of the most conservative Republicans and also of the most radical Progressives. What change in social or economic conditions occurred during the four succeeding years that justified the disruption of a party reaffirming those principles?

Having made these general observations, let us ascertain as far as possible the real differences between the factions which in 1908 composed the Republican party, and upon what grounds these factions may be reunited. The subject may be divided into two general heads, the first of which relates to principles of government, and the second to party organization and control.

The views and policies of the extreme Progressives are set forth in the platform of the Progressive party; and hence, the views between which there exist the greatest differences may be ascertained by comparing that platform with the Republican platform adopted in 1912. That there are differences between the principles therein declared, some of which are serious, can not be questioned; yet as to nearly all of them, is there not a common ground acceptable to all, and as to those differences which are serious, are there a material number of Republicans and former Republicans who are really out of harmony with the Re-

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publican view? A brief consideration of the two platforms, will, I think, afford answers to these questions.

With reference to a protective tariff, there is no substantial difference between the Republicans and Progressives. All believe, and both platforms in effect declare, that American industries should be protected to such an extent as will enable domestic producers to pay a liberal wage to their employees and still compete on equal terms with their foreign competitors. The Progressive platform denounced the Payne-Aldrich bill because they believed many articles are protected thereby beyond this requirement. The Republicans have never contended that that bill is a perfect measure, and concede that some reductions should be made; but both platforms advocate the creation of a tariff board to make an impartial and exhaustive investigation of the cost and conditions of production both at home and abroad so that the principle as to which all agree may be properly applied.

Upon the following subjects both platforms express substantially the same views: limitation of campaign funds, the parcels post, improvement of inland waterways, prevention of Mississippi River floods, inquiry into and removal of causes of high cost of living, establishment of agricultural credits, conservation of natural resources, development of Alaska coal-fields under terms preventive of monopoly, and protection of American citizens against discriminations by foreign governments. The parcels post has been established, a Department of Labor created, and a bill passed providing for the valuation of railroads as favored in the Progressive platform, and hence these questions have been eliminated. Mere mention of the following principles enunciated in the Progressive platform will show that no material differences can exist among Republicans, or in fact among all American citizens, in regard to those subjects, to wit: a more compact organization of the health service; the enactment of a patent law that will prevent the suppression of patents and their use against the public welfare in the interest of monopolies; the co-operation of the Federal Government with producers and manufacturers in extending foreign commerce, and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers with a view to their fitness and worth; the extension of good roads and rural free delivery; the use of the Panama Canal primarily for the benefit of the American people, and that it be maintained in such a way as to create competi-

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tion between the ships using it and the transcontinental railway lines; the imposition of an inheritance and also an income tax; governmental action to prevent the congestion of immigrants in cities; and the application of the Civil Service Act to all non-political offices, and the enactment of an equitable retirement law.

With reference to the Navy, the Republican party favors the maintenance of a Navy adequate for the National defense, while the Progressive party favors building two battleships a year until an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces shall be made.

On the currency question neither platform is specific, except that the Progressives declare the present method of issuing notes through private agencies harmful and unscientific and oppose the Aldrich currency bill without offering any definite system. This question, though an important one, was mentioned but little during the campaign, and it certainly did not even contribute to the party division.

Much stress was laid during the campaign upon the Progressive plank denominated "Social and Industrial Justice." This plank declares in favor of both National and State legislation designed to promote the health and better the condition of laborers in the respects described, and prohibiting child labor, regulating wages and hours and time of service of women, and abolishing convict labor. In so far as these principles apply to the National Government, the legislation heretofore enacted by Congress shows that there is no substantial disagreement as to them. Among the laws passed relating to this subject are the several acts requiring rolling stock for railroads to be equipped with safety appliances; those fixing hours of service for laborers working on Government contracts, also hours of service for Government employees, and the minimum consecutive hours railroad employees engaged in interstate commerce may remain on duty, and the employer's liability act. In fact, the field for additional legislation of this character by Congress is not large.

The Progressive platform declares in favor of female suffrage. This, as are many of the other matters above mentioned, is strictly a State and not a National question. The Constitution of the United States has left it with the States to determine the qualifications of those who shall exercise the elective franchise even as to National matters;

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and the National Government has no more right morally or legally to compel New York to enfranchise its women than it has to compel California to disfranchise its female citizens. Each State must determine for itself whether female suffrage will best promote its interests.

The initiative, referendum, and recall advocated in the Progressive platform is by its express terms limited to State action; and hence, however much many Republicans may oppose these methods of holding officials responsible to the people, and of giving the people an opportunity to initiate and reject legislation, there is no necessity that such dispute should divide the National organization. The same is also true as to the plank relating to the courts. The only suggestion as to the powers of the *Federal* courts is that "every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an act of the legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation." This favors an extension and not a restriction of the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now let us consider those matters about which there is substantial disagreement.

The Republican platform favors the enforcement of the present Anti-Trust Law, but also declares that as to its criminal feature it should be so amended as to define with certainty what acts constitute an offense; while the Progressive platform urges the establishment of a strong Federal administration commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the Government now does for National banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission. That is, the one party favors the prohibition of trusts and monopolies and the other their supervision and regulation by a commission. Here is certainly a vital difference. The merits of the two principles can not be here discussed, except to say that it would certainly be unwise to reverse the present policy before the most thorough test is made of its efficacy. If the policy of prohibiting monopolies and of maintaining competition

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be demonstrated to be erroneous it will be an easy matter to change to the policy of regulation. But if great combinations and monopolies be permitted to arise by sanction of law, if such policy be found to be unwise, how could it then be changed from regulation to prohibition? There is certainly no popular demand for the *regulation* of trusts; and it is believed that comparatively few voters gave adherence to the Progressive party on account of this plank in its platform. A Republican Congress enacted the Federal Anti-Trust Law for which the party through its conventions when largely dominated by those who are now Progressives have often claimed credit; and practically all of those who were Republicans before the Convention of 1912 are undoubtedly in accord with the party on this question.

The Progressive platform pledges the party to "provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution." This is favored because, it says, a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people. This is directly opposed to the traditions and principles of the Republican party, which has always favored a strong central government and opposed every effort to weaken its stability. There is not a need of the people suggested in the Progressive platform which can not be sufficiently met by legislation within the Constitution as now written. It would be far better for the welfare of the country if instead of criticizing and thus destroying respect for that instrument, the people were taught to treat it as sacred; far better that it be imperfect but loved and revered, than perfect but despised and disrespected. The fact that it has been twice amended within the last four years demonstrates that it can be amended with sufficient ease. There is no demand for such a modification of our fundamental law, and it will be unfortunate for the Republic if such a demand shall become general.

Apparently, therefore, by the exercise of a reasonable amount of patience and by a display of a reasonable liberal spirit, an agreement between the different factions of the party can be reached so far as political principles are concerned.

The most important subjects relating to the organization and control of the party are, the basis of representation in the National Convention, the powers of the National Com-

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mittee, and methods of choosing the delegates which compose the National Convention.

A brief historical review of the present basis of representation will be of interest. The first National Convention met at Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856, in response to a call made by a number of chairmen of State Committees, as recited, "in accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press." This convention was necessarily informal, and the principal business transacted was the issuance of an address and adoption of resolutions, and also the selection of a "National Executive Committee," consisting of a delegate from each of several States. On March 29, 1856, this Committee called a convention to meet in Philadelphia on June 17th, those favoring their principles being invited "to send from each State, three delegates from each Congressional District and six delegates at large." By resolution of the convention it was provided that in voting for a candidate for President, each State should be limited in its votes "to three times the number of electors to which such State is entitled"

In the call issued by the National Committee for the next convention (1860), the invitation was "to send from each State two delegates from each Congressional District, and four delegates at large to the Convention." On the incoming of the report of the Committee on Credentials, a lengthy discussion occurred over the representation from certain Southern States and Oregon, and the matter was recommitted to the committee; and in its subsequent report, which was adopted, the vote of Texas was reduced to six. After nominations had been made, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, offered a resolution providing that thereafter "the basis of the nominating vote be fixed as near as may be in proportion to the number of Republican electors found to reside, at the last general State election preceding the nomination, in each Congressional District throughout the Union." This resolution was laid upon the table without debate.

In the call for the Convention of 1868 it was recited that "each State in the United States" was entitled to a number of delegates equal to twice its number of Senators and Representatives; and the National Committee interpreted this to exclude certain Southern States on the theory that they were not in the United States, but the convention

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ordered that all States be called; and the report of the Committee on Rules, which was adopted, provided that four votes should be cast by the delegates at large for each State, and that each Congressional District should be entitled to two votes. However, some of the Southern States and a number of Congressional Districts were not represented. While the basis of representation has been the same ever since, except that delegates with the power to vote have been added from the Territories and the District of Columbia, yet it has not thus remained without dissent. In the Convention of 1884, on motion of Mr. Pierce, of Pennsylvania, the subject of a revised apportionment of delegates to future national conventions was referred to the Committee on Rules; and a minority report signed by eight members of the Committee was submitted, which provided for four delegates at large for each State, and one additional delegate for each Representative at large, and for one delegate from each Congressional District and an additional delegate for each ten thousand or majority fraction thereof of votes cast at the last preceding Presidential election. After a lengthy and spirited debate, the minority report was withdrawn. In the Convention of 1900, when the report of the Committee on Rules was submitted, Senator Quay moved a substitute for the Rule relating to the composition of the convention, which provided that thereafter each State should be entitled to four delegates at large and one additional delegate for each ten thousand votes or majority fraction thereof cast at the last preceding election for Republican electors, and that each organized Territory and the District of Columbia should be entitled to six delegates, the method of the selection of delegates to be provided for by the National Committee. After some discussion the matter was passed till the following day, when the motion was withdrawn.

In the Convention of 1908, Mr. Burke, of Pennsylvania, presented a resolution relating to the basis of representation, which was sent to the Committee on Rules. A minority report was submitted, signed by fifteen members of that Committee, recommending substantially the same basis as to the States as that presented by Senator Quay in 1900. After a prolonged discussion, the convention refused to substitute the minority for the majority report by the vote of 471 to 506.

The present plan can not be justified either by practical

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results or by theory. It is easily understood why in the conventions preceding, during, and immediately after the Civil War special consideration was given those who for principles had forfeited all social ties with and incurred the bitter odium of their former friends. Furthermore, for some time after the enfranchisement of the negro it was supposed that the Republican Party would be powerful in the South on account of his presence there, and that favorable recognition of that section in the national conventions would tend to preserve and strengthen that power. But time has proven the fallacy of that supposition. This system has not only failed to strengthen the party in the Southern States, but, for reasons so apparent that they need not here be stated, in many sections has greatly tended to weaken its prestige.

Doubtless the present system had its origin in the Constitutional method of electing Presidents; but the underlying principles in the two systems are in sharp conflict. The Constitution provides that for the election of Presidents each State shall appoint a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; and by another provision in the Constitution the Representatives are apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers. Hence, those electors who correspond to the Representatives are apportioned according to population.

There is a material difference between the election of a President and the nomination of a candidate for President by a political party. In the first instance the choice of the *entire voting population* is expressed through the electoral college, while in the latter the choice of *the party* is expressed through the convention. The nomination is made by the party, and is not participated in by those outside the party; and the nominee personifies the party's principles and ideals. Hence, the delegates selecting him should represent proportionately the membership of the party, and not the population of the United States, as is now done except as to delegates from the States at large.

If this is the correct principle, a few statistics will show how far the present system is wrong. In 1908 the seven extreme Southern States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas cast 159,948 votes for Mr. Taft. In the Convention of 1912 these

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States had one hundred and sixty delegates. Pennsylvania and New York cast respectively 448,785 and 667,100 votes for Mr. Taft, or nearly three and four times as many as all the States mentioned combined, and yet the former State had only 76 and the latter 90 delegates in that convention. The injustice is just as glaring when comparison is made between those and other Southern States. Tennessee and North Carolina together cast 233,406 votes, or 73,458 more than the States mentioned; yet they had only 48 delegates. And the State of Kentucky gave Mr. Taft 244,092 votes, or 85,144 more than all of those States, and yet it had in the Convention only 26 delegates. The entire eleven distinctly Southern States, which include those first mentioned and Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, cast but 502,551 votes for Mr. Taft, or 164,549 less than the State of New York alone; but they had a combined delegation of 252 members, or nearly one-fourth of the entire convention. Such a condition could not possibly have been perpetuated had it not been to the interest of those who from time to time have controlled the party.

There appears no just reason why the delegates should not be apportioned according to the Republican vote cast in 1908. The total Republican vote of that year was something over seven and a half millions; hence if thus apportioned and if the convention be composed of about the same number of delegates as that of 1912, the basis should be one delegate to every 7,000 votes or a majority fraction thereof. In general, delegates should also be chosen by Congressional Districts and not by States, as by so doing the sentiments of each section would be represented. In States containing districts which on this basis would not be entitled to a delegate, from the vote cast by the entire State the vote of those districts which have delegates might be deducted, and the remaining delegates to which the State is entitled be selected by the delegates to the State convention from outside the districts entitled to representation. This plan is a mere suggestion, and has not been worked out to ascertain what the results would be in the several States.

It has been suggested by some that a reapportionment of delegates can be made by the National Committee without additional authority being conferred upon that body by a national convention. That the Committee is vested with no

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power to give substantial relief of that kind can admit of no doubt. Precedents could be cited which show that both the Committee and national conventions have distinctly recognized that no such power is possessed by the Committee, but such citations are unnecessary.

The first rule reported by the Committee on Rules and adopted for the government of the Convention of 1908 provides that "*Hereafter* the Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State," etc. By the twelfth rule of the report provision is made for the National Committee, and it is authorized to designate the manner in which the delegates shall be chosen. In the Convention of 1912, the first rule in the report of the Committee on Rules adopted the language of the first rule in 1908, but it appears that the entire report of the Committee was laid upon the table; and the National Committee therefore are still acting under the rules adopted in 1908. Hence, the very document under which the Committee exists expressly specifies the basis of representation, and thereby excludes every implied power relating thereto that might otherwise exist. The use of the word "hereafter" in this connection appears to have originated in the Convention of 1908, as theretofore the rules provided for the representation in the convention then organized, and not, except by implication, for representation in subsequent conventions.

But if the Committee possessed such power it would be unwise to exercise it. Such a fundamental change would create great dissatisfaction unless made after the most mature consideration by a regularly called and organized convention.

There has been much criticism of the National Committee with reference to the manner in which it has made up the temporary rolls of delegates. This power is certainly a far-reaching one, as the permanent control of the convention largely depends upon the temporary roll. It may be interesting, therefore, to learn whence such power was derived.

In the Convention of 1864 Thaddeus Stevens moved "that all contested cases be laid over, and that the delegates from such States shall not be entered on the roll until the credentials shall have been sent to a Committee on Credentials and reported back," which motion was adopted; and the States whose delegates were contested had no representation on the Credentials Committee. In the Convention of

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1868 California and Maryland did not participate in the organization of the Convention, and were not represented on the Credentials Committee, because their delegations were contested; and for a like reason Utah and Dakota did not participate in the organization of the Convention of 1872. In organizing the Convention of 1876 it was moved "that in case of any State or Territory where there is a contest as to the proper delegation, or where there are contesting delegations, such State or Territory be passed upon the call of the roll," which motion was adopted after the District of Columbia was added.

For the Convention of 1880 the Committee appears for the first time to have prepared a temporary roll, from which they excluded Louisiana. Apparently no additional authority was given the Committee in this respect by the Convention of 1876; and it was a far-reaching innovation inaugurated on its own initiative. In the twelfth rule adopted in 1904, it was provided that "Twenty days before the day set for the meeting of the National Convention the credentials of each delegate and alternate shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the National Committee '*for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention,*'" and the same provision appears in the rules adopted by the Convention of 1908. This was apparently an authoritative recognition by the convention of the power of the Committee to prepare such a roll.

It is easily seen how this power may be abused by a Committee; yet the former custom of excluding all contested delegations from participating in the organization of a convention is subject to equal, or even greater, abuse. Under such a system many frivolous contests might be instituted for no other purpose than to control the organization. But it might be more satisfactory than either of these methods for each convention to choose a number of persons well known for their probity and ability to perform that function for the succeeding convention, their jurisdiction to extend solely to a determination of whether contests are frivolous, with direction that where a contest has merit neither the contestees nor contestants shall appear upon the roll. At present there is no limitation upon the power of the Committee in this respect; and it has been accustomed to determine contests fully for all purposes relating to the temporary organization.

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In considering the basis of representation and the powers of the National Committee it has been assumed that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President for a time at least will continue to be made by conventions, as otherwise the composition and organization of the convention are not matters of so great importance.

At present there exists no National primary law, and there is apparently no pronounced sentiment in favor of such a law, even if Congress has the power to enact it; and but few States have statutes which enable the voters to express a preference for a Presidential nominee.

Heretofore delegates have been selected generally by State and Congressional District conventions composed of delegates chosen by county conventions. In the smaller counties, and sometimes in counties of considerable size, these conventions are mass-meetings, in which every Republican present has the right to participate. As these meetings are now conducted it is doubtful whether any other scheme could be devised which would give greater opportunity for the real sentiments of the people of a county to be misrepresented.

For selecting delegates to the State convention a county convention is called, at the instance of the State Committee, by the County Committee or its Chairman, and the meeting is called to order by such Chairman, his sole duty being to receive nominations for temporary Chairman, take the vote thereon, and declare the result. In conventions called to select delegates to a Congressional convention this function is sometimes performed by the Congressional Committeeman for that county.

For several days preceding the convention the leaders of each faction engage in an effort to secure a larger attendance than their antagonists; and success by no means depends upon the sentiment of the people, unless the sentiment be pronounced and the popular interest great. Visits to county towns by most country people are infrequent. Many of them reside some distance away, and unless specially urged are unwilling to lose a day from their labor to attend a convention the only object of which is to choose delegates to another convention. But with a small amount of money a leader can employ messengers to canvass the entire county and make a personal appeal to many friends, and also leave a few dollars with an active citizen of each

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neighborhood charged with the duty of bringing his friends to the meeting. It is apparent that thus a great advantage can be gained over an opponent who has no money to spend, or, if he had, would refuse to spend it for that purpose. Then naturally those most conveniently situated will attend in the largest numbers. A town upon a railroad, especially where one faction has sufficient funds to pay for transportation, will be largely represented; and sometimes a convention is overwhelmed by the employees of some factory temporarily closed for the purpose, or in large towns, by the riffraff, who for a small sum each are corralled and marched to the convention and voted in a body. When the time for opening the meeting arrives the principal struggle is over the election of a temporary chairman, as that affords the first test of strength, and the course of the convention is controlled largely by the presiding officer. If the person whose duty it is to call the meeting together is fair, he will see that the meeting is called in a room designated some time before the assembling, and large enough to hold all present; or, if such a room cannot be found, that it be called in the court-house yard or public square, that ample opportunity be given for the nomination of candidates, and that a division of the crowd be made and a count actually taken by impartial men selected from all factions, and that the result be declared according to the count. But if such person permits his personal preference to prevail over his sense of fairness he may call the meeting to order in a room packed with his friends while the opposition is forced to remain outside unrecognized; or he may permit the opposition to understand that the meeting will be called in one room, while secretly having the leaders of his faction fill another room with his friends, where it is actually called; or he may refuse a division and declare on a *viva voce* vote the candidate of his faction elected, and thus force the opposition to organize independently. In contests between delegates much stress is laid upon "regularity," and hence the importance of being selected by a convention the organization of which can be traced back to the regularly constituted source of authority. In such cases the opposition must rely upon showing that the unfairness of their antagonists was so glaring, and that they so greatly preponderated in numbers, that the technical claim of regularity should not be sustained. Sometimes, notwithstanding the

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fairness of the presiding officer, the opposing faction under some pretext will organize an independent convention. In such instances they rely wholly upon the sympathies of those by whom the contest will be decided. Thus the seats of more than half the delegates to a Congressional District convention may be contested, or at least enough to determine the action of the convention. If the Congressional Committee assumes to prepare a temporary roll, the faction which the majority of such Committee favors has a great advantage, and the validity of its action will in all probability be denied by the other faction; or it may be that the uncontested delegates will undertake to organize the convention, which action will be attacked by those displeased by their action. Where there is a considerable number of contested delegates the result generally is that two conventions are held, and two delegations sent to the National Convention.

The same result may occur in a State convention, though on account of their size it is not so probable. When the matter is heard by the National Committee or the Credentials Committee of the National Convention, unless the contest be an unusual one, not more than thirty minutes, and often less, is given each side to present its claims, which is done without the introduction of witnesses, but by a mere statement made by some one selected for that purpose. It goes without saying that where the facts are complicated or doubtful such a hearing cannot inform the Committee of the real facts, and that the members of the Committee necessarily vote in accordance with their predilections.

This is the way the American people have been choosing candidates for the highest elective office which has ever existed. The wonder is that by such a crude system men of such high character and possessing such pronounced ability have always been chosen.

It is not intended to condemn political conventions in general, and to indorse primary elections as a substitute for them. This is especially so while but few States have laws regulating primaries. The holding of such elections is expensive; and when candidates are required to advance the means to defray those expenses, every person, regardless of merit, is excluded from the running who has not the necessary amount and is not willing to place himself under obligation to others for its advancement. Moreover,

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primaries offer even greater opportunity than conventions for the improper use of large sums of money, and unless carefully guarded by law may be used as vehicles for gross frauds. Furthermore, the convention system possesses a peculiar merit for a self-governing people. There the statesman often has his first experience, and it is of much practical value for the leading citizens of a county to assemble and engage in a contest of this character which involves a choice of both persons and principles, provided the contest be fairly conducted.

The fundamental defect in the present system appears to be that there are no fixed rules which specify how such conventions shall be organized and their business conducted, and no method provided by which it may be determined in a judicial way whether such rules have been substantially adhered to.

In order to avoid county conventions packed in the manner described and to procure representation therein from each section of a county, it is suggested that they be composed of delegates from each district, township, or ward, selected by ballot, at such hour and place as would be most convenient for the people of each locality. This method is used to a considerable extent in large counties, and could be used with equal profit in counties less populous.

Then, definite rules should be prescribed for the government of all conventions which participate directly or indirectly in the selection of delegates to the National Convention, and a substantial compliance with such rules should be required. Such compliance can be accomplished by devising a method for determining contests by which the real merits of the claims of the respective parties can be thoroughly considered, which would necessitate a review of the proceedings, not only of the State and Congressional District conventions, but also of the county conventions upon whose action the rights of the contesting parties might depend. The task would probably not be a very great one, as the contests would be much fewer in number were conventions held under fixed rules, and it were understood that these rules would be strictly enforced. The body heretofore suggested charged with the duty of preparing a temporary roll might meet for such a length of time before the date of the convention as would enable them to thoroughly investigate each contest, sending a special agent upon the ground to take testi-

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mony if necessary, and to report the facts for the benefit of the Credentials Committee.

Precautions equal to these are exercised every day by the courts of the country in determining the rights of private individuals in actions involving but a few hundred dollars, and there is no just reason why the same principles of justice should not be applied in contests upon which the welfare, and possibly the life, of the nation depends.

As suggested, these changes in the organization and government of the Republican party can be made only by a national convention; but there is grave doubt that the present is, or the immediate future will be, an opportune time for such a convention to assemble. The factional feelings engendered by the recent contest remain too intense for the coolest deliberation. A further season for reflection could be used with much profit by the leaders of the factions in the different States getting together and talking the situation over in a friendly way. In 1914 there will be a great contest involving the control of the Sixty-fourth Congress. Would it not be well to inaugurate that campaign with a national convention, dominated with such a spirit of liberality that it will awaken new enthusiasm in the party throughout the length and breadth of the land?

JAMES A. FOWLER.

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AMERICAN AMBASSADORS ABROAD

BY ANGLO-AMERICAN

THE real reason, I take it, why the United States has no regular diplomatic service is that it has no regular foreign policy, and that American Ambassadors, in consequence, represent for the most part what is little more than a vacuum. In spite of the Spanish war and of semi-colonial holdings in the Pacific and the Caribbean, and in spite of the multiplication every year of fresh points of diplomatic contact with the outer world, the distinguishing fact of America's position in the general scheme of *Weltpolitik* is still, as it has always been, her comparative isolation. It would be an interesting venture, by the by, to trace the reflex action of this isolation upon the national character and to estimate how far the immunity of America from the effects, at once complicating and fortifying, of a constant external pressure has been a gain or a loss. But whatever one's opinion of its advantages and drawbacks, the fact itself is indisputable that, alone among the Great Powers, the United States is not menaced. Her size and strength and the accident of her geographical situation and surroundings, have combined to shield her in an almost unvexed tranquillity. Nothing endangers her national security. So far has fortune exempted her from the animosities and distractions that convulse the older world; so little is she ever called upon to realize that national safety, national existence even, depends to-day, as much as it ever did, upon brute force; so serenely does she stand apart from the elements of international strife—that one is almost tempted to think that a law of nature has been virtually suspended in her favor. With no enemies to guard against, no definite or even probable crisis to prepare for, knowing next to nothing of all that follows when two Powers of nearly equal strength and of possibly conflicting interests live within striking distance of each other, and herself, if not invul-

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nerable, at any rate unconquerable, America is privileged to dwell in an atmosphere of simplicity, spaciousness, and self-absorption that more, perhaps, than anything else separates her from both Europe and Asia.

To a pugnacious people—and the American temper has its full share of belligerency—such conditions are occasionally irksome. The combative instinct needs an outlet, needs, at any rate, a punching-bag; and having no real and imminent antagonists or crises to face, Americans from time to time have been reduced to the necessity of manufacturing them. Thus they have fixed on Great Britain or Germany or Japan as "the enemy" and have diligently worked up a satisfying assortment of "scares." But these manifestations have never been anything but highly artificial, have never had a political, in addition to their psychological, value, have never possessed that immediate and tangible reference to actualities and probabilities that would at once and rightly have been ascribed to them had they emanated from a European people. The American Press and American politicians can indulge a propensity for rather heedless talk and behavior, and can habitually make international mountains out of molehills, because of a well-understood consensus that it is not really serious and will entail no material consequences. A diplomatic dispute with another power, conducted by either side on the implication of force, is of all experiences the one most foreign to the normal American routine. Indeed, when you have mentioned the Monroe Doctrine you have pretty well indicated the sum total of the average citizen's interest in external politics. It was, I believe, Mr. Bernard Shaw who described the Americans as "a nation of villagers," and the description still holds good in the sense that their local consciousness is far more intensive than their national, and still more so than their international, consciousness. The education they receive in world-politics is meager and intermittent in amount and extremely unsatisfactory in quality. During several years in the United States I do not recall a single well-informed debate in Congress on the foreign policy of the Republic, or a single member who treated his constituents to an address on so alien a topic. Americans are apt to regard all European happenings with an amused and impersonal indifference, as of no possible concern to their own fortunes; they can hardly as yet conceive a definite connection between their own welfare and

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affairs and the issue of a rivalry between two European Powers—Great Britain and Germany, for instance—that will be decided, if at all, several thousand miles away from American territory. The idea that Europe has one set of interests and America another is still, I suppose, subscribed to almost unanimously from Maine to California; and the average, busy, complacent citizen, self-contented and remote, knowing nothing of the fierce juxtapositions, the pressures and counter-pressures, of Europe, and convinced of the unassailable strength of the United States, continues, probably, to regard the wars and diplomatic contentions of the Old World with a purely spectacular interest, as a sort of drama provided for his diversion. The questions that really touch him are American questions; in no other country in the world, I believe, could so significant a step as that taken by President Wilson when he withdrew the Government of the United States from participation in the Chinese loan have been received with such complete public indifference; even the masterly lucidity and comprehension with which Admiral Mahan has analyzed and explained the present state of European and Asiatic politics and has traced their irrefragable connection with American interests, seem to have failed of any deep effect on the national intelligence; and it is clear that many years must pass and many gaps be filled up before the average American newspaper ceases to treat international affairs in a spirit of either levity or sensationalism and before the average American citizen fully envisages the position of his country in the family of nations or reaches an adequate understanding of the first elements of *Weltpolitik*.

Such conditions as these, assuming that I have diagnosed them with approximate accuracy, make it well-nigh impossible for Americans to look upon diplomacy as a serious profession. The conventions of international intercourse demand that there should be such persons as ministers and ambassadors, and the United States bows to usage in supplying them; but it is always with the consciousness that hardly once in a decade does it make any real difference to the interests of the nation whether she is adequately or inadequately represented abroad. To the element of "prestige" as it is embodied in and upheld by the personality and general style of an American Ambassador in a foreign capital, the vast majority of his stay-at-home countrymen

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are frankly indifferent; and an American who was seriously exercised over the deficiencies of his country's representative at Vienna or Pekin or Athens would be decidedly something of a phenomenon. The idea obtains that diplomacy is part of the fuss and feathers of an effete dispensation, somewhat unworthy of the patronage and assistance of sturdy democrats like the Americans, that it is implicated in bowings and scrapings and knee-breeches and lace ruffles and other diabolical accessories that curdle the milk of Jeffersonian simplicity and are contrary to the customs and instincts of the leading citizens of Kalamazoo, and that, on the whole, while it may be tolerated as a diversion for young men of means who have yet to come to their senses, and for elderly lawyers, writers, and politicians who have outlived their usefulness, it cannot claim to be regarded as a career. Nor is it so regarded even by those who embark upon it. Americans hop in and out of diplomacy just as in simpler days they used to hop in and out of journalism and school-teaching. But very few of them give their whole lives to it or look upon it as other than a temporary avocation, indulged in for the pleasant experiences it can always be made to yield. I doubt whether there is to-day a single American Ambassador who began as Third Secretary on the lowest rung of the ladder and has climbed and climbed till he has reached the top. On the other hand, in pretty nearly every important capital you will come across men who after occupying themselves for years with diplomatic work have abandoned it for finance, commerce or are living a life of more or less unprofitable leisure on the shelf to which they have been relegated.

It is, indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the American diplomatic service that it is not a service at all. There are, I believe, no examinations to pass to enter it; there is no permanency of tenure; there is no regularized system of promotions either by merit or seniority or in any other way; and there are no pensions. All the appointments are made by the President, and the men he appoints belong as a rule to his own party. When the other side comes in, there is nothing to prevent a clean and world-wide sweep of every American representative from the most honored Ambassador to the rawest Third Secretary. Next to the fact that the American diplomatic uniform is no uniform at all, being just plain evening dress and doubly conspicuous on

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that account, this way of doing things is what chiefly distinguishes the American service from those of Europe. It may be a very excellent way, but it cannot be said that all of its products, as one encounters them in Europe, are superficially attractive. The individuals may be most estimable in all the private relations of life, but it is in their public capacity, as accredited envoys from the United States, as officials from whose conduct and manners foreigners would be inevitably apt to form their judgment of American civilization, that they sometimes fall short, as there are instances to prove. There are failures of one kind or another in every service, but this particular sort of failure is the monopoly of the system or lack of system adopted by the United States in choosing its Ambassadors. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Some of them are bound to be men who have had very few social opportunities in their own country, who have picked up whatever education they possess, who owe their official honors either to their claims upon the party or the President, and who necessarily lack the rare gifts of flexibility that enable a man, when past middle age, to adapt himself to a new and strange environment. It thus not infrequently happens that Americans become the representatives of their country with a delightful ignorance of the ceremony and the etiquette that are the breath of diplomatic intercourse and with a personal equipment inadequate to the task of standing forth before alien and critical peoples as exemplars of the best that there is in American life.

Diplomacy is half business and half society. The business end, American Ministers and Ambassadors, technically untrained though they are, usually contrive to manage admirably through the sheer exercise of native ability. But in the social half of their duties they are set at times an almost impossible task. They have not been brought up to the work and as a rule they are past the time of life when it can be learned. Every one must have come across the type of American representative I have in mind, a naïve, big-hearted, kindly man, a gentleman in everything but the technical sense, whose only defect is that, being unversed in the conventions, he is liable to be misunderstood, and, being misunderstood, is liable to be slighted and looked down upon. And if he is also, and he usually is, a man of moderate means, he finds himself utterly unable to compete with his

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rivals and colleagues of the diplomatic corps; he is often worse housed than the representative of the pettiest Spanish-American Republic; and he parts inevitably with the tremendous power that is exercised through social prestige. With American Consuls the case is the same, only more so. Consulships still very largely rank among the spoils of politics, and American editors, lobbyists, political colonels, writers of campaign literature, and defeated candidates for minor offices girdle the earth. Most of them, too, make excellent officers; but their excellence is due not to the system of appointment, but to the wondrous fact that an American, even an American politician, whether at home or abroad, finds it easier to be useful than to be idle. They prove indefatigable and intelligent workers, and the Government backs them up and encourages them by publishing a daily journal wholly composed of Consular reports. The American consular service, with its quick changes and its incessantly varying supply of fresh men with fresh minds, does undoubtedly "sell goods," open up new branches of trade, and keep American exporters admirably informed of business conditions and opportunities all over the world. Yet very few Americans return from a trip abroad without having a contemptuous fling at their Consuls. The reason, and usually the sole reason, is that their social aptitudes and experience and the personal impression they make are much below their business capacity.

I often think that Americans do not do sufficient justice to their public men as a class. In England, for instance, the material rewards, the social distinction, the power and *kudos* that belong to a man who reaches high office are very great, great enough, indeed, to attract the best men to the public services. A Cabinet Minister in England enjoys an ample salary, has all London at his feet, finds himself honored and bowed down to wherever he goes, and leads a life which, if very arduous, is superlatively interesting, varied, and exciting. An American Cabinet officer knows little of these seductions. He is disgracefully underpaid; the attractions of Washington in winter, though indisputable, can hardly be considered an overwhelming inducement to enter official life; the national interest in his actions and his personality lacks something of respectfulness and soon becomes an intolerable nuisance; being chosen for his post by the President, he has no guarantee of a secure tenure;

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the sharp division between the Executive and Congress makes it very improbable that, when out of office, he will continue to be a power even in his own party, much less in the life of the nation; and being merely an administrator, and not, like Cabinet Ministers in England, administrator and legislator combined, he has few opportunities for writing his policies in the statute-book. Yet you can go to Washington at any time and find there a body of public servants who are not surpassed, even in Germany, for efficiency, self-sacrifice, and an absolute devotion to their country's interests. Many of them are poor men, without private means, who have voluntarily abandoned high professional ambitions and turned their backs on the rewards of business to serve their country on salaries that are not merely inadequate, but indecently so. There is not one of them who is not constantly assailed by offers of positions in the world of commerce, finance, and the law that would satisfy every material ambition with which he began life. There is not one of them who could not, if he chose, earn outside Washington from ten to twenty times the income on which he economizes as a State official. But these men are as indifferent to money and to the power that money brings as to the allurements of Newport and New York, or to merely personal distinctions, or to the commercialized ideals that the vast majority of mankind accept almost without question. They are content and more than content to sink themselves in the national service without a thought of private advancement, and often at a heavy sacrifice of worldly honors, and to toil on invigorated by the infectiousness of the President's lead and comradeship and sustained by their own native impulse to make of patriotism an efficient instrument of public betterment. They are a standing illustration of the truism which Europeans find such ludicrous difficulty in grasping, that America is the land of the Great Unpaid, that money as a consideration counts for less there than almost anywhere else, and that the best work done in the United States as well as out of it is done without regard to its material emoluments. I do not infer from these conditions that the United States ought therefore to feel itself relieved from the obligation of paying its public servants an adequate living wage. None the less it remains a fine and wholesome thing that there should always be found in the United States a plen-

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tiful supply of first-rate men who are ready to serve their country to the detriment of their private purse and their personal interests. In general, no man can make, or ought to wish to make, anything more than a bare competency out of public office. Very few succeed in even doing that. The highest salaried posts, such for instance, as the Viceroyalty of India, entail as a rule a more than proportionate drain on the banking accounts of those who hold them. Even kings, the best paid of all State officials, are often hard pressed to make both ends meet. The man who refuses an opportunity of public service because it involves him in personal sacrifices declares his own unworthiness; and a Government that overpaid its servants would be far more reprehensible and incidentally would receive a much poorer return, than a Government that went to the opposite extreme of parsimony. Most kinds of work are better done when a man has to pay in cash or by the surrender of selfish inclinations for the privilege of doing it; and I should rather suspect any official who was able to save much money out of his public salary.

The question, therefore, of the honorarium that should be awarded to American Ambassadors has emphatically more than one side to it. At present they can hardly be said to be paid at all. Their fixed and inclusive salary is seventeen thousand five hundred dollars a year, and out of this they have to meet the cost of renting a furnished house—there being no official residence for the American Ambassador in any capital—as well as all private living expenses. To dwell in any European capital and to keep up the state that the diplomacy of to-day insists upon and that is no less essential to the dignity of the United States, and to do this on a salary of seventeen thousand five hundred dollars a year is a sheer impossibility. Any American who accepts a first-class Embassy must be prepared either to forego the entertainments and the scale of living appropriate to his office or to dip heavily into his private means. By taking a modest house in a remote and unfashionable quarter, by rigorously restricting his hospitality and by confining himself to taxi-cabs, he might just be able to cover his obligatory and unavoidable expenses. But an Ambassador ought not to have to pinch and screw in this unseemly fashion. It reflects nothing on him personally, but it does reflect directly and discreditably on the country he represents, and it is not less

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an affront to the ruler and people of the country to which he is accredited. No Ambassador that I have ever met in whatever country or of whatever nationality, but had to confess more or less ruefully to a deficit at the end of his term. It is one of the conditions of the service in all lands; indeed, in most lands the possession of private means is essential even to admission into the service at all. But where Ambassadors are provided with an official residence, a certain uniformity of practice is established which serves as a guide to each of its occupants in turn. Any one who knew the British Embassy at Washington as it was fifteen years ago under Lord Pauncefote and as it was last year under Mr. Bryce and is to-day under Sir Cecil Spring-Rice would be puzzled to say in what, if any, particular its general scale of hospitality has changed. That is because a fixed residence and the traditions and ways of doing things that quickly become established in a fixed residence, help to preserve a continuity of observances, methods, and standards that each Ambassador tends naturally to confirm, and helps also to nullify the difference between a comparatively rich man and a comparatively poor one. More than anything else it is owing to the absence of official Embassies that the present disparity obtains between the mode of life adopted by one American Ambassador and that of his successor or predecessor in the same capital, or that of his contemporary colleague in a neighboring capital. Here you find an American Ambassador living in a palace like a prince; there all his appointments and style bespeak the necessity of a rigid economy; somewhere else he maintains the kind of state that to my mind is most congruous to the spirit of the American Republic—one of comfortable and distinctive refinement, equally removed from pretentiousness and obscurity.

The keynote of the situation, therefore, seems to me to be the provision, whether by lease or purchase, of permanent American Embassies in the leading capitals of the world. If they were once acquired, a salary of, say, thirty thousand dollars a year would enable any man in any capital to represent the United States with ease and dignity, but without any excessive display. He could fulfil all the obligations of his office as well as, but no better than, they ought to be fulfilled. He would still have to draw to some extent on his private means, but not more so

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than a man who was moderately well-off could easily and gladly afford; and, as I have said, certain standards of living and of expense would be quickly evolved that would restrain the millionaire, relieve the less affluent man from his present disadvantages, and spare future American Presidents the humiliation of finding their offers of Embassies continually refused on grounds of finance. Given a permanent official residence, an American Ambassador would no longer have to begin his diplomatic career by taking up his quarters in a hotel and hunting for a house to live in—as unimpressive a *début* as could well be imagined; the rich man would be under no temptation to spend, as many American Ambassadors have spent, from fifty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year out of their own pockets; and the poor man would no longer be compelled to stand the comparison between his own ways of doing things and those of a possibly too lavish and ostentatious predecessor. As matters are at present the American diplomatic service presents itself to the world as a jumble of incongruities and anomalies unrelieved by a single settled rule or custom. It deprives the United States of the services of many admirably qualified men, and it involves Ambassador after Ambassador in personal predicaments that for the good name of his country ought to be avoided.

The sort of predicament I am referring to was very well illustrated some five years ago when that accomplished scholar Dr. David Jayne Hill was appointed to succeed Mr. Charlemagne Tower as the American representative at Berlin. Mr. Tower, besides possessing an engaging personality, is a man of very great wealth. Throughout his term of office he inhabited what is, I think, quite the finest mansion in Berlin. He dispensed an open-handed and graceful hospitality, and some at least of the wide popularity he enjoyed could fairly have been ascribed to the splendor and attractiveness of his entertainments. No one who looked the facts in the face could doubt that it was a source of natural pleasure to the Kaiser, to the Court, and to the American colony in Berlin, to see the American Ambassador upholding with such complete and elaborate success the social side of his position. That is a kind of achievement which carries greater weight in Berlin than in any European city. No community in Europe is so susceptible to the ap-

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peal of money and display; and I for one do not question in the least that the state which Mr. Tower was able to maintain, his generous and finished hospitality, the style and scale of his personal appointments, and so on, had a decided effect not only in confirming his own popularity, but in enhancing American prestige. If the American colony in Berlin had been polled they would have voted to make Mr. Tower Ambassador for life. This, no doubt, would have been a solution eminently agreeable to the Kaiser himself. Failing that, he hoped at the least that the new Ambassador would be able to continue the social successes won by Mr. Tower, and to maintain all the embellishments and outward dignities of his position on the same scale as his predecessor. When, however, it was ascertained that Dr. Hill's resources only permitted of a modest establishment, the Kaiser, as a friend of America, and anxious for the preservation of American prestige in Germany, felt that President Roosevelt was making a mistake. He accordingly suggested or let it be known that while Dr. Hill on all personal grounds was entirely acceptable, the United States, for her own sake, would be better advised in sending a representative who would run no risk of being overshadowed by the Ambassadors of other Powers, and who would be in a position to follow in Mr. Tower's footsteps with the same certainty and *éclat*. Otherwise the new Ambassador might be troubled by the awkwardness of the inevitable comparison, and the United States, in parting with the power of social influence, might be doing herself a political disservice. There was nothing unfriendly in the Kaiser's representations. They were not meant in any way to be discourteous either to Dr. Hill or to the United States. He had apparently convinced himself that America was embarking on a course which he believed to be injurious, and at the eleventh hour he tried to save her from it. The result of his intervention was an "incident" that placed Dr. Hill in a very unfair and invidious position, and that irritated Americans without convincing them that their failure to maintain an Embassy of their own was at the root of the whole difficulty.

A very similar situation, but met in a very different spirit, arose when the death of Mr. Whitelaw Reid left vacant the American Embassy in London. Mr. Reid, like Mr. Tower, was a man of large wealth, which he spent ungrudgingly in

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his country's service. He rented the most magnificent house in London, maintained it in the most elaborate style, and dispensed a hospitality that became famous even in that city of endless entertainments; and like Mr. Tower, he made multitudes of friends by his kindliness, his easy and ingratiating manners, and his great conversational gifts. But undoubtedly he raised the question whether it was altogether appropriate that the United States, with its traditions of Republican simplicity, should be officially represented on so sumptuous a scale; and undoubtedly, also, he made it difficult for President Wilson to find any one to succeed him. President Wilson has solved the difficulty in a way that Englishmen are already grateful for, and will be still more grateful for the longer they know Mr. Page. It is interesting to note the President's endeavor to resuscitate the Ambassadors of the Motley, Lowell, and Bigelow class. He has sent Mr. Walter Page to London, Dr. Van Dyke to The Hague, Mr. Nelson Page to Rome, and Mr. Schurman to Athens, and he has offered other Embassies to professors and writers and to men mainly known, not for their possessions, but for their intellectual distinction. That is a move in the right direction, and unless it encourages Congress to persevere in its niggardliness and to refuse to establish permanent Embassies on the ground that almost any habitation will do for professors and such like, it will prove a very wholesome move. But the problem of the American diplomatic service as a whole still remains. Is it to be put on a purely professional basis, with a graduated scale of promotions, a pension system, and little or no recruitment from the outside world of distinguished amateurs? Are the higher posts still to be reserved for men of eminence who have never gone through the diplomatic mill? Is it possible to provide official residences and to pay adequate salaries without risking an invasion of party politicians on the make? If as a foreigner I may without impertinence express an opinion on matters which are primarily of American concern, it would be in favor of permanent Embassies, salaries of thirty thousand dollars a year, and as many men of the Lowell and Choate type as the United States is fortunate to possess and able to spare for the delectation of the capitals of Europe.

ANGLO-AMERICAN.

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NATIONAL AID TO GOOD ROADS

BY JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

THE idea of national participation in highway improvement is by no means new. As long ago as 1802, Congress passed an act for the admission of the State of Ohio and included in the act a provision that five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands in the State should be applied to the laying out and construction of public roads connecting the Ohio River with navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic.

The money thus to be expended was Federal money. The road to be constructed was an interstate road. The obligation was one assumed by the Government chiefly in behalf of the State of Ohio, but also for the benefit of people of other States. Subsequent acts for the admission of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri contained similar provisions as to the expenditure of five per cent. of the net proceeds from public-land sales, and the western terminus of the proposed road was extended to Jefferson City, Missouri.

The States named accepted the provisions of the acts mentioned, and the legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania enacted laws permitting the Government to construct the road through their jurisdictions. The first appropriation for the road was made by Congress in 1806 and every administration for nearly forty years thereafter made appropriations for the road, known as the Cumberland Road, although President Monroe vetoed one bill for this purpose, giving as his reason that he believed Congress had no such authority. Nevertheless, by the action of the National Government for a period of forty years and by the separate action of several of the strongest of the States, the power of Congress to build roads was recognized. The total amount appropriated for the Cumberland Road was over $6,800,000. The road was ultimately taken over by the States through which it passed.

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I have stated these historical facts, not for the purpose of establishing by precedent the validity of appropriations of this kind, for I should assert the right of Congress to appropriate money for and build public roads, even though there were no precedent. My object is to show the early date in American history when this Federal power was recognized.

The constitutionality of the appropriations was supported chiefly upon some one or all of the following express Federal powers: to establish post roads, to regulate commerce, to declare war, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare.

Among those of legal training, a technical discussion of the constitutionality of national highway appropriations would no doubt be interesting, but I believe the time has long since passed when controversy over this question could be deemed appropriate. Even a cursory review of the ever-expanding activities of this Government, covering the purchase of Louisiana and Alaska, the improvement of harbors and interior rivers, appropriations for educational work, construction and reclamation projects, purchase of private lands for the formation of public forest reserves for protection of watersheds, demonstrates that a discussion of the constitutional question is purely academic.

Federal aid to good roads will accomplish several of the objects indicated by the framers of the Constitution: establish post roads, regulate commerce, provide for the common defense, and promote the general welfare. Above all, it will promote the general welfare.

From an economic standpoint, the most important problem now before the American people is that of rural highway improvement. Transportation is the key to industrial and commercial prosperity. The United States leads every other country in the world in steam and electric railway development, but is behind several nations in the development of its wagon roads. This is not said in criticism of this country, for America is yet young in years of industrial growth. The leading European nations laid out their road systems and constructed their best-known highways while the major portion of this country was still a wilderness.

The fact remains, however, that the improvement of our highways is not keeping pace with other transportation development, and, as a consequence, the wagon-haul to and

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from the railroad is relatively the greater part of the cost of transportation between producer and consumer. This phase of the subject has been so frequently and so thoroughly discussed by transportation experts that the facts are now well known. No one now questions the social and economic importance of highway improvement. The sole problem now is to devise a means of attaining the desired end. To the solution of this problem I have devoted many months of close attention and believe I have devised a plan by the adoption of which Federal aid to good roads can be provided without incurring any of the evils so likely to attend a Government undertaking of such broad scope and wide application.

The bill I have suggested, briefly stated, permits a State to deposit its fifty-year 4-per-cent. bonds in the United States Treasury and receive the face value thereof from funds raised by the sale of Government 3-per-cent. non-taxable bonds, the State bonds to be retired without the payment of the principal otherwise than by crediting the States with the difference between 3 per cent. and 4 per cent., together with 3-per-cent. compound interest on this difference. In other words, the States would pay the same rate of interest usually paid on State bonds, and the difference between that rate and the lower rate at which Government bonds will sell would be credited to a sinking-fund which would, with interest thereon, amount to the principal in a little less than fifty years.

In principle, this is the system of financing adopted by Great Britain many years ago in connection with the purchase of landed estates in Ireland and the resale of same to the tenants. The Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903 contains the latest application of the plan in Great Britain. Under that act, British securities are issued, bearing 2¾ per cent. interest, while the Irish tenants repay the loan at 3¼ per cent., but the principal of the loan is deemed to have been paid whenever the sinking-fund, with accumulation of compound interest thereon at 2¾ per cent., equals the amount of the loan. The financing feature of my plan is the same, but I have added a number of other features which I deem essential in order to produce desired results.

My plan provides for Federal loans to the total amount of $1,000,000,000 for construction and the apportionment of this aid among the States upon a basis of area, population,

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assessed valuation and road mileage, each factor being given equal weight. Thus each State will receive aid in accordance with its needs.

This plan also provides for aid in maintenance, each State to receive annually from the Federal Treasury an amount equal to 2 per cent. of the amount of State bonds on deposit, provided the State expends a similar amount for maintenance. This plan leaves it to the State to determine the amount of aid it shall receive and eliminates the possibility of a pork barrel.

It is also provided in the suggested plan that no State shall receive Federal aid until it has established a State Highway Commission with general supervision over the expenditure of funds received from the Government and also that the bonds of the State shall not be accepted if the total bonded indebtedness of the State, including the bonds issued in accordance with the provisions of the national highway law, shall exceed 10 per cent. of the assessed valuation. These requirements insure efficient supervision of road expenditures and prevent such an excessive indebtedness as might impair the credit of a State or cast doubt upon the soundness of its bonds. In order to prevent throwing too large an amount of Federal bonds upon the market at one time, the plan also provides that no State shall apply for more than 20 per cent. of its allotment in any one year.

To provide a supply of qualified engineers to supervise highway construction and maintenance, I have included in my plan a provision for the establishment of an academy of highway and bridge engineering to be located at Washington, D. C. I believe such a school would be far more efficient and turn out more highly qualified engineers than would numerous schools not so well equipped for the work and scattered over the country. It would be in many respects a post-graduate school, giving the special instruction which local colleges are not prepared to give. It would establish an *esprit de corps* among the highway engineers of the country and maintain high standards of work. It would be a clearing-house, if you please, for information and new ideas relative to highway improvement.

In connection with such a school I would have a testing laboratory maintained, so that any State road official could send road material to be tested free of charge and by the

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most approved methods. Here would be located the best authorities in the world on highway problems.

As the provisions of the bill I have suggested are brief and as the thorough consideration of any plan before adoption is of utmost importance, I shall present the text of the bill in full:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That in order to establish, construct, improve, or maintain public roads that are now or may hereafter be needed for use as post roads, military roads, or for interstate commerce, there be, and hereby is, created a fund to be known as the United States Highway Fund. Said fund shall be raised in the manner herein provided, but the Treasurer of the United States is hereby authorized to receive and place to the credit of said fund any money that may be contributed from other sources and to expend the same upon the order of the United States Highway Commission or in accordance with the conditions of the contribution.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of providing money for the United States Highway Fund the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue and sell by popular subscription and upon a pro rata allotment basis, at not less than par, bonds of the United States in such form as he may prescribe and in denominations of $20 or multiples of that sum, said bonds to be payable 50 years from the date of issue and to bear interest, payable semiannually, at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, the total amount of said bonds not to exceed $1,000,000,000 and the issue and sale of same not to exceed such amounts as may be necessary from time to time to enable the Treasurer of the United States to make payments from the United States Highway Fund to the several States in accordance with the provisions of this act. Bonds issued under authority of this act or the income therefrom shall not be subject to taxation of any kind for any purpose.

SEC. 3. That before any State shall be entitled to take advantage of the provisions of the act, it shall establish by law a State highway commission having general supervision of road construction and improvement in that State, which said commission shall have general supervision of the expenditure of money received from the United States Highway Fund, subject only to the provisions of this act and of State laws not inconsistent therewith.

SEC. 4. That the United States Highway Fund shall be apportioned and credited to the several States in the following manner: The United States Highway Commission, hereinafter created, shall ascertain in the most practical manner from the best information available the total land area, the population according to the last Federal census, the total assessed valuation of all taxable property, and the total mileage of public highways in each of the several States, and shall compute the percentage of the total of each of these four items possessed by each State. They shall then compute the average of the four percentages for each State, and this average shall be the per cent. of the $1,000,000,000 United States Highway Fund that shall be apportioned and credited to each State. Said commission shall notify the Treasurer of the United States of the result of their ascertainment and computation, which shall be

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made as of a date to be fixed by the commission. Such fund, so apportioned, shall be paid to the States only in accordance with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 5. That whenever any State, through its duly authorized agents, shall apply for any part of its share of the United States Highway Fund, but not exceeding 20 per cent. thereof in any year, and shall deposit with the Treasurer of the United States its bonds for such amount payable in 50 years and bearing interest, payable semiannually, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, said Treasurer of the United States shall issue and sell by popular subscription and upon a pro rata allotment basis United States highway bonds herein authorized to the amount that may be necessary to pay to said State the amount of money applied for, and upon the sale of said bonds shall pay over the proceeds to the custodian of the public funds of the State: *Provided*, That the bonds of any State shall not be accepted if the total amount of bonds of such State, including the bonds issued to take advantage of the provisions of this act, shall exceed 10 per cent. of the amount of the assessed valuation of all taxable property in such State. When the Treasurer of the United States shall receive any payment of interest on State bonds deposited in the manner above provided he shall devote three-fourths thereof to the payment of the interest due on the corresponding United States highway bonds and one-fourth, herein designated as a sinking-fund, he shall deposit in the Treasury of the United States to be used from time to time as the general funds of the United States are used. The Treasurer of the United States shall keep an account with each State that shall deposit bonds and receive funds under the provisions of this act, and shall credit said State with interest compounded annually at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum on the sinking-funds paid in. At the time of the maturity of the bonds deposited by any State, if all payments of interest have been made when due, the Treasurer of the United States shall cancel said bonds and return them to the State issuing the same, without requiring any payment of the principal.

SEC. 6. That on the 1st day of February of each year the Treasurer of the United States shall pay to the custodian of the public funds of each State, from any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, an amount of money equal to 2 per cent of the amount of State bonds said State has on deposit with the Treasurer of the United States under the provisions of this act. The money so paid shall be expended by said State only in the maintenance of public highways. The Treasurer of the United States shall withhold the payment of money to any State under the provisions of this section in the event that such State default in payment of any interest due or in the event that the United States Highway Commission herein created shall certify to said United States Treasurer that money theretofore paid to said State for maintenance purposes has not been expended with reasonable effectiveness for the maintenance of public highways or that the State has failed to expend an equal amount of its own funds during the preceding twelve months for the same purpose.

SEC. 7. There is hereby created a United States Highway Commission, to be composed of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, the chairman of the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and the Director of the Office of Public Roads.

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Such commission shall have only an advisory voice in the expenditure of the United States Highway Fund in the several States. It shall have its head office in the District of Columbia, but may create highway divisions, never exceeding in number one for each State, and may maintain a division office in charge of a United States highway engineer in each division. Said commission shall have power to employ such clerical and expert assistance as may be provided for by appropriations made by Congress from time to time, and may require the assistance and co-operation of the officers and employees of any department in its work.

SEC. 8. For the further aid and encouragement of highway improvement in the several States, the United States Highway Commission shall maintain in the District of Columbia a school for special instruction in practical highway and bridge engineering, the entrance requirements of which school shall include completion of preparatory courses in civil engineering and such other studies as the commission shall specify qualifying the student to enter upon the special study of the practical problems of highway and bridge engineering. The rules, regulations, and curriculum of said school shall provide for instruction for two years for one student from each Congressional district, selected by competitive examination, but if there be no qualified applicant for admission from any Congressional district such vacancy may be filled by the admission of a student from some other Congressional district in the same State. Upon the admission of a student to the school of highway engineering such student shall be paid as traveling expenses four cents for each mile of distance necessarily traveled in going from his home to Washington, D. C., and at the end of each calendar month thereafter during continuance of such student in said school he shall be paid fifty dollars to cover living and incidental expenses. The United States Highway Commission shall make rules and regulations for the management of said school and shall have entire control of same, subject only to the Constitution and laws of the United States. In connection with said school said commission shall maintain a testing laboratory in which said commission shall cause tests to be made of road or bridge building material free of charge at the request of the duly authorized highway officials of any State.

SEC. 9. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated the following amounts or so much thereof as may be necessary:

For the renting of suitable quarters for the United States Highway Commission in the District of Columbia, $———.

For the renting of suitable quarters for the school of highway and bridge engineering, $———.

For the payment of salaries of clerical and expert assistance for the United States Highway Commission, $———.

For the payment of salaries of instructors in the school of highway and bridge engineering, $———.

For the purchase of testing laboratory equipment and office furniture and supplies, $———.

For the payment of the salaries of ——— division engineers, $———.

For the renting of quarters for ——— division engineers, $———.

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The following table shows the percentage and amount of apportionment each State would receive under a plan giving area, population, assessed valuation, and road mileage equal weight in the calculation, these percentages being computed to only two decimal places and the amounts given in round numbers:

State.	Land area in square miles.	Population, 1910.	Assessed valuation, fiscal year 1912.	Total mileage of roads.	Apportionment to each State.	
					Per cent.	Amount.
Alabama	51,279	2,138,093	$484,851,212.00	49,639	1.72	$17,200,000
Arizona	113,840	204,354	140,338,191.00	5,987	1.13	11,300,000
Arkansas	52,525	1,574,449	[a]425,478,614.00	36,445	1.44	14,400,000
California	156,092	2,377,549	2,919,342,889.00	48,069	3.59	35,900,000
Colorado	103,658	799,024	430,000,000.00	29,693	1.59	15,900,000
Connecticut	4,820	1,114,756	[a]1,041,334,019.00	12,583	.87	8,700,000
Delaware	1,965	202,322	92,575,760.00	3,000	.14	1,400,000
Florida	54,861	752,619	218,887,518.00	17,579	.95	9,500,000
Georgia	58,725	2,609,121	842,000,000.00	82,230	2.45	24,500,000
Idaho	83,779	325,594	418,780,394.00	18,403	1.16	11,600,000
Illinois	56,002	5,638,591	2,343,673,232.00	94,141	3.94	39,400,000
Indiana	35,885	2,700,876	1,891,602,077.00	67,996	2.51	25,100,000
Iowa	55,586	2,224,771	713,318,825.00	102,427	2.50	25,000,000
Kansas	81,774	1,690,949	2,746,900,291.00	98,302	3.28	32,800,000
Kentucky	40,181	2,289,905	1,089,265,143.00	53,744	1.98	19,800,000
Louisiana	45,409	1,656,388	546,650,157.00	24,962	1.32	13,200,000
Maine	29,895	742,371	478,192,054.00	25,528	.92	9,200,000
Maryland	9,941	1,295,346	979,309,976.00	16,773	.99	9,900,000
Massachusetts	8,039	3,366,416	4,249,699,855.00	17,272	2.73	27,300,000
Michigan	57,480	2,810,173	[a]2,288,000,000.00	68,906	2.88	28,800,000
Minnesota	80,858	2,075,708	1,212,567,794.00	79,323	2.59	25,900,000
Mississippi	46,362	1,797,114	[a]399,029,000.00	39,619	1.48	14,800,000
Missouri	68,727	3,293,335	1,736,371,588.00	107,923	3.35	33,500,000
Montana	145,776	376,053	346,550,585.00	23,319	1.72	17,200,000
Nebraska	76,808	1,192,214	463,371,889.00	80,338	2.05	20,500,000
Nevada	109,821	81,875	[a]85,347,058.44	12,751	1.12	11,200,000
New Hampshire	9,031	430,572	397,647,530.00	15,116	.51	5,100,000
New Jersey	7,514	2,537,167	2,289,770,280.78	14,842	1.77	17,700,000
New Mexico	122,503	327,301	[b]72,000,000.00	16,920	1.35	13,500,000
New York	47,654	9,113,614	11,022,985,914.00	79,279	7.86	78,600,000
North Carolina	48,740	2,206,287	[a]494,708,570.00	48,285	1.74	17,400,000
North Dakota	70,183	577,056	294,770,325.00	61,593	1.56	15,600,000
Ohio	40,740	4,767,121	6,400,000,000.00	88,861	5.02	50,200,000
Oklahoma	69,414	1,657,155	1,326,840,833.00	71,325	2.33	23,300,000
Oregon	95,607	672,765	[c]905,011,679.00	29,475	1.66	16,600,000
Pennsylvania	44,832	7,665,111	5,917,119,205.25	87,387	5.65	56,500,000
Rhode Island	1,067	542,610	552,991,854.00	2,121	.39	3,900,000
South Carolina	30,495	1,515,400	291,531,003.00	32,075	1.15	11,500,000
South Dakota	76,868	583,888	354,278,413.00	56,354	1.58	15,800,000
Tennessee	41,687	2,184,789	625,010,886.00	45,913	1.70	17,000,000
Texas	262,398	3,896,542	2,515,594,636.00	128,971	5.66	56,600,000
Utah	82,184	373,351	200,299,207.00	8,320	.96	9,600,000
Vermont	9,124	355,956	221,447,887.00	14,406	.42	4,200,000
Virginia	40,262	2,061,612	907,273,651.00	43,399	1.73	17,300,000
Washington	66,836	1,141,990	1,005,086,251.00	34,284	1.64	16,400,000
West Virginia	24,022	1,221,119	1,119,828,173.00	32,109	1.32	13,200,000
Wisconsin	55,256	2,333,860	2,077,925,166.00	61,090	2.56	25,600,000
Wyoming	97,594	145,965	182,028,280.00	10,569	1.05	10,500,000
Totals and average	2,974,099	91,972,266	$67,763,587,864.45	2,199,646	....	$1,000,100,000

[a] 1911. [b] Rough estimate. [c] 1910.

The practical working of the plan I have suggested may be illustrated by supposing that all the States avail themselves of the opportunity of utilizing the superior credit of the United States up to the 20-per-cent. annual limitation for each State. We would have $200,000,000 of fifty-year semiannual 4-per-cent. State bonds deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, upon which collateral the

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Secretary of the Treasury would offer for popular subscription, at not less than par and upon a pro rata allotment basis, $200,000,000 of 3-per-cent. Federal bonds, and from the $200,000,000 obtained in the sale of same pay to the States the par amount of their bonds. The Federal Government would receive from the States, in semiannual payments, interest at the rate of 4 per cent., or $8,000,000 annually. Out of this it would pay to the investors in the Federal bonds $6,000,000 annually, as interest on $200,000,000 United States fifty-year 3-per-cent. bonds, leaving an excess of $2,000,000 annually received from the States over what the Federal Government would pay in interest charges on a similar amount of Federal bonds.

On this excess of $2,000,000 the Federal Government would allow 3-per-cent. annual compound interest. At the end of 46.89 years this sinking-fund would amount, under this plan, to $200,000,000, so that the Federal Government would have the funds to pay off the bonds it had issued to the public for which it held the State bonds as collateral, and at the end of fifty years from the date of issuance of the State bonds the Federal Government would return said bonds to the respective States marked "canceled." By depositing their bonds with the Federal Government as collateral and utilizing the superior credit of the Federal Government in getting money at 3 per cent., the States would ultimately have received $200,000,000 cash at 1-per-cent. cheaper interest than they themselves could secure in a public sale of their own bonds. This utilization of the Federal Government's superior credit, without any greater expense to the States than the interest charge alone if they sold their bonds in the open market, together with the Federal Government's 3-per-cent. annual interest allowance, would provide the fund with which the obligation of the States would be entirely liquidated at the expiration of fifty years.

The money received from the sale of the Federal bonds would be turned over to the Highway Commissions in the States, which commissions should be directly accountable to the electorates of the States, thus preventing interference with State rights and eliminating any direct legal supervision on the part of the Federal Government and minimizing the danger of building up a large Federal Bureau. At the same time co-operation would be assured because of

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realization on the part of the members of the State Highway Commissions that although the Federal district engineers would have no legal supervision as to the expenditure of the money put into construction of roads, yet in their inspection of the maintenance of roads the Federal and district engineers would necessarily learn whether the road construction had been honest and intelligent, and the anticipation of this maintenance inspection by Federal agents would cause the State engineers to do better construction work.

There would seem to be little doubt that the people of the United States would buy the Federal 3-per-cent. bonds at par. These bonds, being non-taxable, would be the equivalent of a 4-per-cent. taxable bond, especially if the contemplated income tax be enacted.

On June 14, 1912, the banks of the United States showed the following individual deposits:

	Number.	Amount.	Average rate of interest paid depositors.
National banks	7,372	$5,825,461,163.36	No data
Mutual savings banks	630	3,608,657,828.11	3.90
Stock savings banks	1,292	842,897,859.61	3.03 to 3.64.
State banks	13,381	2,919,977,897.99	No data
Private banks	1,110	152,494,618.90	No data
Loan and Trust companies	1,410	3,674,578,238.92	No data
Total	25,195	$17,024,067,606.89	

Since 3.9 per cent. is the average rate of interest to depositors in the 630 mutual savings-banks, and 3.03 per cent. to 3.64 per cent. is the rate of interest paid depositors in the 1,293 stock savings-banks, there can be no doubt that depositors in these institutions would prefer the Federal 3-per-cent. non-taxable bonds with the Government credit behind them to the security and interest offered by the savings-banks.

Several States and municipalities have recently experienced difficulty in floating large bond issues sold *en bloc.* One or two cities have overcome the difficulty by selling the bonds in small denominations to small investors. This plan provides against any such contingency by requiring that bonds be in denominations of $20 and sold by popular subscription and pro-rated among the subscribers if the issue should be over-subscribed. In view of the amount of

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money now on deposit in banks with or without interest, and in view of the fact that on June 30, 1912, there was over $1,700,000,000 in money in the United States not on deposit in the banks, there is very little reason to doubt but that there would be a very general desire to take up the highway bonds as rapidly as issued, which could not be at the rate of more than $200,000,000 in one year and probably would be less than that.

Maintenance of roads is of no less importance than construction. By the suggested plan, the Federal Government would contribute to each State 2 per cent. of the total amount of Federal aid that had been extended to the State for construction in utilization of the Federal Government's superior credit. Thus, the States, if they deposited the aggregate of $200,000,000 of State bonds during any one year and received $200,000,000 in money from the Federal Government, would thereafter receive $4,000,000 annually as a direct contribution from the Government, provided these States expended an equal amount for annual maintenance.

While some Federal inspection will be necessary to determine whether States have expended their own and the Government maintenance funds in an effective manner, yet the plan suggested avoids building up a large force of Federal employees. Such a force presents obvious dangers which might be obviated if the United States were divided into Federal Road Districts composed of States or groups of States containing approximately 50,000 miles of roads and create a number of district road and bridge engineers, so that there would be one Federal representative for each district. All other employees would be under State control.

The duties of this engineer then would be to ascertain and report to the United States Highway Commission in Washington whether the annual maintenance contribution of the Government apportioned to that district had been intelligently and honestly expended. He could also give lectures as opportunity permitted, regarding road engineering and practical construction, and furnish the State Highway Commissions with such information as the Federal Bureau had touching on the subject, but neither he nor his superior, the Federal Director of Public Roads, would have the right to withhold the Federal maintenance actually contributed to his district simply because his judgment differed

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from that of the State Highway Commission with reference to intelligent and honest expenditure of the Federal part of the maintenance fund. The United States Highway Commission, consisting of the chairmen of the two Committees on Post Offices and Post Roads, with the Director of Public Roads, would have the final voice and decision as to whether this fund should be withheld or not.

Briefly summarized, the plan of Federal aid here outlined insures extensive road construction and adequate maintenance over a long period of years, enlists the cooperation of the States, provides for efficient supervision, guards against the subservience of State officials to a Federal bureau, prevents the building up of a large organization that could be used for political purposes, and avoids legislation that might degenerate into a pork barrel. Adoption of this plan will result in a vast saving of cost of transportation on highways and a corresponding increase in the value of farm property. The increase in the value of property will far exceed the investment in construction, and the saving in cost of transportation will far exceed the annual expenditure for maintenance. From the standpoint of good business judgment there is no investment that offers larger returns than expenditures for highway improvement, provided the expenditures be made in accordance with a systematic plan that guards against waste.

JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

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NAGGING THE JAPANESE

BY FRANCIS G. PEABODY

An American who has spent the spring months of this year in Japan and returns this summer through California encounters a sharp sea-change of public opinion. In Japan, among responsible people, the anti-Japanese legislation of California created a general sense of bewilderment. The United States had been regarded as the most disinterested and trustworthy of Western nations. A monument to Commodore Perry had been recently unveiled. A "Gentlemen's Agreement" had checked the migration to America, so that the number of Japanese in California had decreased by four thousand nine hundred and thirty-three during the last three years. The holdings of land by Japanese in 1910 amounted to but twelve thousand seven hundred and twenty-six acres, or about one per cent. of the twelve million acres of agricultural land. The purposes of the Japanese Government were conspicuously directed to the promoting of emigration to Korea and Manchuria rather than to the West. Suddenly, and with no apparent provocation, California descended on this insignificant number of Japanese settlers with legislation which was practically confiscation. The prevailing public opinion in California, with many exceptions of individuals and neighborhoods, seemed to be made up in about equal parts of racial prejudice and economic fear. All Orientals, it was often maintained, were unclean and immoral, and their presence was a threat to our families and children. This was a white man's country. The Japanese, it was more particularly urged, were undesirable citizens because they were so industrious and acquisitive. They make a living where a white man would starve. They lease a bit of unproductive land, and soon they own it, and the next piece, too. They crowd out white competition in the fisheries, the potato fields, and the market-gardens. Thus a

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question of land-holding which, after twenty years remained insignificant, and which showed no signs of immediate gravity, was magnified in the public press into "a horde of settlers," "a strangle-hold on the State," "the grip the Japanese are securing." The consequence was a policy which may be described as nagging the Japanese. Precisely as in a home there may be no legitimate ground for divorce, but life may be made miserable by petty irritations and insults, so California, being precluded by treaty from direct discrimination, proceeded to make life as uncomfortable as possible for a handful of Japanese, and to treat a proud and friendly nation as though it were a nation of lepers. Some of the talk which one might hear in California was of the loosest and most reckless description. A wall, it was half humorously said, ought to be built round the State, and its resources reserved for its own people.

Here, then, is a situation which takes on a wholly different look when seen from opposite sides of the ocean. What to California is a local irritation created by a few objectionable settlers is regarded in Japan as a national insult. To the Japanese our Federal system is almost incomprehensible. In a nation where loyalty to the throne is an overmastering passion, the conception of a divided authority, permitting one section of a country to oppose or thwart the will of the rest, seems like governmental chaos, and the impression persists that somehow California might be overruled. A nagging policy is therefore the most irritating that could be devised. Exclusion would be more endurable to the Japanese than insinuation. If a proud and sensitive country should be goaded to retaliation, it would be because it had been treated superciliously, and because the Government at Washington moves so slowly in reparation, if indeed it is moving at all. Here is the gravity of the case; and until the issue is dealt with, not as a tool of local politics, but as a case of international comity, no satisfaction is likely to be felt in Japan. One State may do the nagging, but the whole country has to bear the blame. One State might involve us in a war which, as a San Francisco newspaper remarked, would make California "an object of derision from Bangor to New Orleans"; yet even then it would be difficult to follow the suggestion of an Oregon newspaper, and "let California do the fighting, while the other States look on." It is high time, then, to consider what are

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the elements in the problem which should be clearly recognized, if a policy of local nagging is to be supplanted by a policy of sane diplomacy.

The first of these conditions of settlement is an appreciation of the fact that we are dealing with an equal. It is often remarked with amusement by the Japanese that the Western nations did not think them worthy of respect until they had killed a great number of Russians. That achievement suddenly called to the attention of the West a people whose culture had its Golden Age before America was discovered, and whose arts, crafts, philosophies, passionate love of natural beauty, and not less passionate patriotism are quite without parallel in the world. The victory of Germany over France in 1871 was not unreasonably described as a victory of the universities. War had become an applied science, and soldiers were scholars. The same results of universal and scientific education were exhibited by Japan in war, and are now to be witnessed in the amazing industrial expansion which has followed war. Sixty years in Japan have accomplished in large degree what took six hundred years in Europe,—the transition from a feudal system, with its lords and vassals, its stationary civilization and mediæval virtues, to a modern State, with parliament, suffrage, freedom of religion and of the press. Admiral Mahan, in his forcible argument for exclusion, has remarked that an Oriental civilization may be equal to ours, but is different. The converse proposition is not less important for the moment to enforce. Because the Japanese are different from Californians, it does not follow that they are inferior. The obvious fact is, that much of the hostility to Japanese in California is a testimony to their excellence. Earlier immigrants who do not work as hard or as skilfully find themselves beaten in industrial competition, and cry out that the nation is in danger. It would be much more just, and much more welcome to the Japanese, if it were frankly said: "You are too clever for American citizenship. We are afraid of your extraordinary persistence and industry. Our only chance to survive is to keep you out."

A second step in adjusting this issue may be taken by a revision of our laws of immigration and naturalization. The practices now followed have become quite absurd and archaic. We recognize white and black; but when the Fifteenth Amendment was passed the yellow race had not

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risen above our horizon. We accept as citizens the off-scourings of Eastern Europe, and shut our door on the thrifty Japanese, whose color may be no darker, and whose descent may be from much the same original stock. What nags the Japanese in the matter is the indirect insinuation of bad blood, the intimation that a people whose education is compulsory and self-help is universal may not prove as serviceable elements in a commercial democracy as the average of Syrians or Copts; that, in short, the Far East is intrinsically inferior to the Near East. To restrict immigration to definite, and even very small, numbers, of each nationality; to require satisfactory passports; to enforce sanitary regulations; to compel not only naturalization in the United States, but denaturalization in the country abandoned; all these might be reasonable precautions; but to discriminate between shades of skin, or assume that a passenger arriving through the Panama Canal is desirable and a passenger crossing the Pacific is a menace, is not so much statesmanship as stupidity. A policy of strict limitation and rigid selection equitably applied would be much more tolerable to a proud nation than the present practice of international insult.

It has been said in California, and even in Congress, that Japan herself denies to aliens the right of land-ownership, and that retaliation at this point is therefore justifiable; but this statement, though it has the form of truth, is in fact a most unfortunate misrepresentation of the declared purpose of Japan. It is true that under the law of 1873 it was "forbidden to sell or pawn land to foreigners"; but even under that earlier law a foreigner in the open ports and in Tokio might lease land "in perpetuity"; and by a law of 1894 these leases "granted in perpetuity by the Japanese Government to aliens and alien corporations shall be considered rights of possession, and ruled by the provisions of the civil law of Japan." Thus, for example, the property of the Unitarian Mission in Tokio is leased for ninety-nine years to Rev. C. E. St. John, now of Philadelphia, but formerly Secretary of the American Unitarian Association in Boston; while the large property of the Doshisha University in Kyoto is held in perpetuity by a corporation. It is a curious commentary on the supposed prohibition by Japan of alien ownership that a very considerable proportion of the most desirable areas of Tokio are at this moment

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occupied by the extensive grounds of foreign Embassies and of Christian mission stations, without any apprehension of insecurity in tenure.

But this is not the end of the Japanese policy. On April 13, 1911, a new law passed the Diet and was promulgated, providing that " foreigners domiciled in Japan and foreign corporations registered in Japan have the right to own land in Japan, provided that Japanese subjects or corporations enjoy the like privilege in such foreign country." Article II, however, of this law prescribed that " The date of enforcement of this law is to be fixed by Imperial decree "; and this Imperial sanction, though it is regarded as a merely formal endorsement, has been thus far delayed, partly, perhaps, because of the death of the late Emperor, and partly because of the slow processes of diplomatic correspondence with other countries concerning the privileges therein granted to Japanese. The California agitation, therefore, instead of recognizing this declared intention of Japan, has taken advantage of a moment of transition to propose retaliation against a policy which the Japanese Government has definitely abandoned, and which even under the earlier law was more nominal than real.

A third contribution to sanity and prudence in dealing with this issue may be suggested by considering the possible alternatives to the present friendly relations with Japan. If it be true that the world's trade is soon to seek the Pacific Ocean; that, as one hears in California, " The United States faces West "; if the Golden Gate is the gate of the future; then it certainly seems a questionable policy to irritate our nearest customer by nagging legislation. There has been some talk in Japan of a boycott on Californian trade and the diverting of commerce to northern ports, and though this would involve much loss on both sides,the sacrifice would be as nothing to the Japanese if their honor were involved. As to war itself, it should be understood that all responsible people in Japan regard the question as altogether beyond the sphere of practical politics, and as simply offering an opportunity, on both sides of the ocean, for irresponsible oratory. The notion of a formidable fleet venturing six thousand miles from its base to attack the American Republic seems in Japan as fantastic a nightmare as ever the advocates of a great American navy dreamed. A war with the United States, it is appreciated,

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would mean in the end the extinction of Japan as a nation, though probably not at the hands of the United States. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to speculate what the provocation of conflict by a nagging policy, if imagined as possible, might mean for the United States.

Japan is not a warlike nation. Her gifts and tastes are for the arts of peace, and all her capital—and much more—is needed for the industrial development which is one of the miracles of the modern world. None the less, Japan has shown that she can fight for her life, and has given evidence of a patriotism which totally disregards defeat or death. If it were conceivable that she should be goaded beyond endurance, she could without serious effort take the Philippines, and perhaps get temporary possession of the Hawaiian Islands, she could then sit still and wait; and the United States would have on its hands a war of retaliation and recovery. And what a war! The vastness, dubiousness—not to say the wickedness—of such an enterprise make it not so much a political possibility as a rhetorical opportunity.

And what, still further, would be the effect of war, or even of the talk of war, on the now promising work of Christian missions? Millions of American dollars and hundreds of American lives have been consecrated to the service of Christ in Japan; and these Christian missions have been received with respectful attention by statesmen and philosophers as well as by plain people. It would be a strange ending to this story of increasing fellowship and confidence if the same nation which had found a welcome in Japan for its messengers of brotherhood and peace should despatch thither as their successors, its messengers of devastation. A Tokio newspaper, appreciating this cynical contrast between missions and militarism, recently remarked, in an editorial on "The Heathen Americans": "Where is there any proof that the United States is a Christian country? Christianity teaches the principle of righteousness. Whoever acts in defiance of this principle cannot be called a Christian. The Americans send their missionaries to Japan; but a time may come when we shall have to instruct them in the teachings of God."

We are brought by these considerations to a fourth, and the most important, means to a better understanding,—namely, a better acquaintance. Charles Lamb is reported to have said of a neighbor, "I hate that man." "How can

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you hate him?'' said a friend, '' You do not even know him.'' '' That is precisely the reason,'' answered Lamb. If I knew him, I probably should not hate him.'' The same ground for hate exists very generally in the United States. A long-standing and industriously propagated tradition has pronounced the Japanese a slippery and tricky people, or, as Mr. Chesterton once said, appropriating the name of the Japanese system of wrestling, which wins by yielding, '' A Judo civilization.'' Now there are no doubt many tricky people in Japan; and the ancient hierarchy of occupations which put trade in the lowest place, as if no gentleman would think of money-making, tended no doubt to drop the least honorable type into business. It should be remembered, however, that precisely the same reputation for tricky trading is still generally supposed by the world to be characteristic of the Yankees, and still affects with extreme caution both commercial and diplomatic relations between other countries and the United States. It must be further appreciated that the new expansion of business in Japan has developed a new type of business men, who administer great affairs in as scrupulous and honorable a manner as can anywhere be found. The leading banker, often described as the Morgan of Japan, narrated not long ago to a few friends the story of his career, and his deliberate decision to forego the tastes which led him to the field of government or diplomacy, because, as he said, the new needs of his country called for a new form of service, and he could serve her best as a man of business. The same hasty judgment is often built in the United States on the ancient myth, which I have heard repeated four times within a few weeks, to the effect that Japanese bankers have to employ Chinese cashiers, because their own people cannot be trusted,—a tale which, whatever may once have been the case, has now scarcely more foundation than if it were said that Chinamen were called in to balance the sales of Wall Street. It may be true that the type of Japanese settler who has taken up land in California is apt to be pushing, suspicious, and even unscrupulous; but it would be strange indeed if any type except one not much desired at home could be tempted to settle where every possible means of force and law is employed to annoy and eject. The fact is, then, that we do not know the Japanese as they know us; and do not credit them, as they do us, with generous or even respectable motives. Their

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students run every risk of poverty and insult that they may have the chance to learn our sciences; but what do our students know of their subtle philosophies and tranquillizing religions? Their art has qualities which in their own sphere are unique and supreme, yet Japanese art still remains the precious possession of connoisseurs, and is purposely debased and vulgarized in order to meet American taste. They receive American travelers, physicians, and missionaries, not only with toleration, but with extreme teachableness, while the great majority of Americans either fancy the Japanese to be heathen, in their blindness, bowing down to wood and stone, or classify them roughly with Chinamen, whom they resemble in character and temperament about as much as a Frenchman does a Turk.

It is interesting to observe that at this moment, when national irritation would seem to preclude international cooperation, the Japanese are, in two distinct enterprises, indicating their unalterable friendship. The first is the provision of twenty thousand dollars, one-half contributed by Japanese and their friends in the United States and the other half subscribed in Japan itself, to send a series of Japanese professors to lecture at Harvard University and elsewhere in the United States. Exchange-professors have for some years come and gone between this country, Germany, and France. This year one of the most learned and most charming of the staff in the Imperial University in Tokio, a professor of the history of religions and a Buddhist, will lecture in the United States on the history of religion and morals among the Japanese. No one who may have the privilege of hearing Professor Anesaki will be likely to think lightly of a nation whose culture has reached such breadth and depth, and his visit may in many indirect but effective ways contribute to international comity.

A second and more comprehensive scheme for a better understanding between East and West is the formation in Japan, with the concurrence of many scholars in European countries as well as in the United States, of an "Association Concordia," organized to unite scholars, teachers, and men of affairs in the service of common ideals of culture and faith. A representative of this Association has already visited the Western countries, and has obtained the written approval of a large body of distinguished colleagues, and the monthly meetings of the Japanese society in Tokio al-

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ready draw together an important group of leading men. This Association is an organized expression of reaction from the materialized and commercial view of progress to a faith in moral and spiritual ideals as the basis of permanent welfare. The issue between commercialism and idealism, which thoughtful people in all countries recognize as critical, is felt with special acuteness in Japan. A great tide of industrial development threatens to submerge the ancient landmarks of religion and ethics, and as the Japanese look across to other nations they see much the same problem there. They approach, therefore, a revival of idealism as an international task, to be promoted by the co-operation of many minds in many lands, by the publication of a Review devoted to comparative studies in philosophy, sociology, education, literature, and religion; by the provision of courses of lectures and exchanges of professors and of students; and finally, by the establishment of an International Institute, as a clearing-house of information and intercourse. Politicians and "practical" men may be sceptical concerning such an association of idealists in an age controlled by tariffs and trades; but those in many countries who believe that the progress of civilization is finally determined, not by commerce or navies, but by the intercommunication of moral ideals and intellectual sympathies, will find their faith confirmed by the establishment of the Association Concordia, and will be likely to feel an increasing respect for the nation in which this world-movement began.

In ways of which these enterprises of scholars are illustrations, ways which are indirect but educative, ways which are gradual but comprehensive, it may come to pass that a better understanding between East and West may follow a better acquaintance, and that a local policy of nagging may be superseded by an international policy of honorable and equitable peace.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

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THE PUBLIC'S FINANCIAL INTEREST IN PUBLIC UTILITIES

BY HAMMOND VINTON HAYES.

THE present time is one of readjustment in the relations between public-utility enterprises and the users of utilities. In the past many public-service companies have issued securities, representing profits which it was expected would arise either from the operation of their franchises or from a development of the business. These securities, when added to those which were representative of actual expenditures for needed property, produced an abnormally large capitalization. If the public is called upon to pay a return upon such a capitalization, a serious burden is placed upon it for all time to come. Furthermore, this inflation of capital has been sufficiently common in the past to have created a very wide-spread impression that such practices have been universal and that rates paid for all public utilities are unjustly high.

As a result of these conditions the users of public utilities are now demanding that they be called upon to pay rates no higher than will defray the actual cost of the service and afford to the stockholders a fair return upon the sums actually invested by them. Thus there has developed a theory of rate regulation based on *cost*, which requires that the fair present value, upon which the return to stockholders shall be based, shall be the money actually invested in good faith by the undertaking in property in use and useful to the public. Moreover, the rates should be no higher than will afford a fair return upon such fair value after paying the actual reasonable cost of the service to the undertaking.

In consequence of this awakening of public feeling, the officers of public utilities are learning that such enterprises differ fundamentally from business enterprises of a more private nature. Investors in private undertakings, such

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as manufacturing or industrial enterprises, are subject to no obligations other than the usual rules controlling the general conduct of business. The money which they have invested in the machinery and plant required for the particular product in which they deal is their own, and the prices charged and the capital employed, as well as the profit obtained, depend upon the skill, enterprise, and good judgment of those in charge of the management. Such enterprises, if looked at possibly somewhat narrowly, may be considered as wholly selfish in nature; at all events, there is no direct obligation upon them to care for the rights of others than those whose money is directly involved. The case is entirely different with a corporation which has been given the right to provide the public with a needed service or commodity. Such a corporation has had imposed upon it obligations and duties not only to its own stockholders, but to the public as well. Such corporations have been given certain rights and privileges, which in many cases may be more or less monopolistic in character, and, in return for such rights, public-utility undertakings are in duty bound to provide the public with a modern and high-grade service, with the least cost to the users consistent with the character of the service and with proper comfort and safety to those in their employ.

The obligation of the management of public-service undertakings to both its stockholders and to the public is beginning to be understood by both of these groups, and efforts are being made by such corporations and by the public, through public service commissions, to formulate methods whereby this virtual partnership in the production and enjoyment of a public-utility service may be established on a basis which is fair and just to both. In most cases the directors of public utilities are ready to accept their full responsibility and to welcome a partnership of this kind, provided the other partners in the enterprise—the public, the users of the service or utility—will recognize that the success of the enterprise depends upon their co-operation and that the users are, in consequence, as directly interested in the production of a high-grade and profitable service as are those whose money has been invested in the capital of the undertaking. Nor are the users of the utility interested only in the character and excellence of the service provided. As will be shown later, the users have a large and

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direct financial interest in the property of most public utilities in this country, and any action prejudicial to the financial interests of the undertaking is injurious not only to the service which they are obtaining, but to their own financial interests as well.

Thus the interests of both parties demand that the question of what are fair rates shall be answered with impartial judgment. The past financial history of many undertakings must be wiped out and a new start made upon a basis which will be fair to the undertaking as well as to the public. An undertaking must not be penalized for excessive earnings in the past, but a new basis must be established which, as far as the cost of the property is concerned, will represent the present value of the property in use and useful to the public. The directors of public-service undertakings must recognize for the future that the users are virtually partners in the enterprise and that the public interests will be acknowledged and cared for in the same way as are those of the investors or stockholders in the undertaking.

In most cases such a new beginning can be made only by an investigation to determine whether or not the capitalization of the corporation is fair and proper and whether the rates that are charged for the service rendered may not be so high as to afford more than a fair return upon the value of the property which is "in use and useful" at the present time in providing the public with the desired service, or, *vice versa,* whether the rates are high enough to pay all proper annual charges as well as a fair return upon the present value of the stockholders' investment. The fair present value of the stockholders' investment is fundamental in that it establishes the basis upon which the return to the stockholders should be determined and defines the limits of the stockholders' financial interest in the property of the undertaking. It is for the purpose of assisting in a determination of this fair present value that inventories and valuations of utility properties have become more and more frequent of late years. But because the property of a utility may have a cost-new, at the present time, as great as or greater than the capitalization of the company, it does not necessarily imply that such a figure is the value of the property upon which the users should be called upon to pay a return. What the fair value should be upon

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which rates can be based can be determined only by many considerations, but particularly by a fair and disinterested decision as to how far the cost-new of the property represents the actual investment made by the stockholders of the enterprise in property now in use and useful. The subject of the fair present value of the property of a public utility upon which a return should be based is a complex problem for the lawyer, the accountant, and engineer, and must be settled by the "well-informed judgment" of a court or commission capable of properly weighing all of the factors which enter into each particular case.

The fair present value thus determined represents the financial interest of the stockholders in the enterprise. The financial interest of the users is centered in the rates paid by them for the service which they enjoy. Directly, the users have no financial interest in the undertaking, although upon the financial success of the undertaking depends the excellence of the service obtained and the comfort and welfare of a portion of the public employed in the production of the service; but, indirectly, the users derive a share in the return obtained upon a portion of the capital cost of the property used in the service.

The rates paid by users are not a return or profit to the stockholders. Rates are largely payments for necessary expenditures made by the management in the production of the service. The return paid to the stockholders is but one item in the cost and usually a relatively small one. The undertaking must be reimbursed for the money expended by it for the users—(a) in operating expenses, in which are included the fair and proper wages of the employees, as well as the cost of maintaining the physical property at a required standard of excellence; (b) taxes; (c) reserves for renewals of worn-out or obsolete plant, usually spoken of as depreciation reserves; (d) interest on bonded indebtedness; (e) a fair return to the stockholders for the money provided by them for the purchase of the required plant. All of the above items are necessarily incident to the operation of any property and, if not paid for by the users, would require new money and a consequent increase in capitalization.

Operating expenses include the salaries and wages of those employed in the production of the service or utility required and used by the subscribers. Most of our larger

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public utilities are of such a character that the services of men of exceptional executive ability are required in order to keep in proper touch with present and future needs of the public and to create and maintain an organization which will produce the highest possible grade of service, a service safe and satisfactory to its users. But possibly even more than this, the wages of those more intimately connected with the production of the service should be such as will provide for their own comfort and well-being and for that of their families. A proper and sufficient return to all those employed in the production of the service should be a portion of the operating expenses and, consequently, a legitimate charge to be paid by those using the service. With a public utility if rates are abnormally reduced, proper wages cannot be paid or, if paid, the service cannot be maintained, owing to the necessity of deflecting money from other and equally imperative requirements for maintaining a satisfactory standard of efficiency.

Again, taxes must be paid by the users of the utility through the rates. The money required for this purpose does not come from the stockholders, but from the users of the utility. If the tax assessment upon the property of a public utility is made abnormally high, the burden is imposed upon the users of that utility, not upon the stockholders.

The third item entering into the cost of producing a service or commodity is that of "reserves for depreciation." Much of the property of a public utility has a limited tenure of life. The time will come when the service obtained from such property will not be as reliable, safe, or economical as that which might be obtained from new or more modern apparatus. The investment in the abandoned property has been lost and new money must be obtained in some way to pay for the new or replacing plant. The question is how this money shall be raised. No investor will place his money in property that is wasting without amortizing his investment during the time that it is productive. The value of the stockholders' investment in the perishable property of a utility company is wasting and, consequently, must be amortized during its life. The users must contribute, therefore, such yearly sums that, at the end of the life of the perishable property, the stockholders' original investment remains unchanged. If the users did not do this, the new

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money would have to come from the stockholders, thereby increasing the capitalization and obliging users to pay, in the future, increasing rates largely upon property which had passed out of existence. These reserves for depreciation are not paid to the stockholders, but to the undertaking for the sole purpose of insuring a continuation of the service with unchanged rates.

The last item to be covered by the gross income of a company, derived through the rates paid for the service by the public, is the return to the stockholders. This return must be figured upon the fair present value of the property represented by the money invested wisely, and in good faith, in property in use and useful in producing the service. The rate of return upon such just value must be high enough to compensate fully those who have invested their money in the utility and to induce others to invest when the time arrives for new issues of securities. It must be remembered that, if the present theory of regulated public utilities is carried out, the investors can expect little or no speculative increase in the value of their investment such as is properly and usually expected from the operation of private companies. The public-utility companies should obtain a fair and reasonable return upon the investment of their stockholders, provided it has been established by a proper and competent tribunal that there is that value then existing in the property serving the public.

If rate-regulating authorities have satisfied themselves that the undertaking is honestly and economically managed, any abnormal increase in any one of these items of expense must be met by higher rates, as otherwise the undertaking is brought face to face with possible financial ruin, which is quite as detrimental to the interests of the public at large as to the stockholders.

A regulated public utility is a virtual partnership between the stockholders in the undertaking and the *users* of the utility. If this partnership can be proved to exist and can be maintained through the operation of a competent utility commission, then such a combination of users with the company is fairer than if the public utility were purchased, owned and operated by the public as a whole. Thus the users of the electric light become partners in the electric-lighting utility and no burden is imposed upon those who are not users of that particular class of service. The same

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is true of railroads, of gas or telephone companies, in fact, of all public utilities except those which, for sanitary or other similar reasons, are or should be used by the entire public. Public ownership, apart from any question of finance or management, would force upon non-users of a utility a partnership in an enterprise in which they had no interest nor derived any direct gain or advantage.

The financial partnership of the users of a public utility in a public-service company is brought about through the investment which is made by the undertaking of the reserves for depreciation which have been contributed by the users. If a property is growing or contains units of plant of different lengths of life, there will always be a very considerable percentage of the plant cost held in the depreciation-reserve account. This fund does not belong to the stockholders of the undertaking, as would a similar fund held by a private undertaking, but rather it is a fund held *in escrow* by the management of the company for the sole purpose of making good the original investment in perishable property and guaranteeing to the users a continuity of service at rates unchanged when renewals of worn-out, obsolete or inefficient plant have to be made. These reserves are virtually an investment by the users in the undertaking. The stockholders of the undertaking obtain no increased return from such contributions except in so far as the value of their own investment in useful plant is maintained.

But the interest of the users in a public utility goes much further. Practically all public utilities in this country are expanding and require new capital to be used to furnish service to an increasing number of users. If the rates paid are ample to meet all of the requirements described above, then such a public utility should be able to obtain new money cheaply whenever required. This being the case, it will be perfectly safe to the two parties interested—the users of the utility and the stockholders of the undertaking—to invest the depreciation reserves in needed extensions to the plant. Thus, the users of the utility have virtually invested their money in the property of the undertaking, as new plant has been built with money held *in escrow* for their benefit, which new plant affords an increased service to increased users. The stockholders in the undertaking can obtain no increased return, for, although the amount invested in useful property has increased, their own invest-

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ment has not increased and they—the stockholders—can obtain only a fair return upon the investment made by them in good faith in property useful to the public. It is true that the users, whose money has been invested by the undertaking in extensions to its plant, obtain no direct return upon their investment, but the cost of service to them is reduced owing to the fact that extensions to the plant have been made with money upon which no return must be paid.

It is this common interest in the financial welfare of a public utility that must be appreciated both by the users of the utility and by the stockholders and management of the undertaking. The undertaking must recognize the fact that the users of the utility are contributing their money for the purpose of maintaining the value of their investment in useful property and insuring the continuation of a safe and reliable service for the present and for the future. Money, thus contributed by the users, is placed under the control of the management of the undertaking for that one purpose and, consequently, does not belong to the undertaking as a portion of the capital upon which a return to the stockholders can be made and cannot be treated as a surplus to be divided among those holding the securities of the enterprise. The users and the public at large must recognize that a very considerable portion of the property of an expanding public utility may have been purchased with money which, although not actually theirs, is money which has been contributed by that portion of the public that has need of that service or utility. This money was contributed as a portion of the rates charged for the service used, for the sole purpose of maintaining the financial prosperity of the enterprise and assisting in the perpetuation of a service of a maximum excellence of safety, comfort, and convenience. But few even of those who have studied this subject appreciate how large a percentage of the investment in the plant of a rapidly growing utility may have been purchased with the funds thus contributed by the users at large. It is possible that at times more than one-half of the cost of a plant may have been contributed by the users in the form of a portion of the rates which have been paid in a series of years in the past.

And upon this large portion of the plant investment no return is paid to stockholders. Thus, if rate-regulating authorities have ruled that the return that should be made

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to the stockholders of a utility is eight per cent., such a return can be paid only on that portion of the cost-new which is now represented by their actual investment, which, as has just been explained, may be less than one-half, but more possibly two-thirds to three-quarters of the total investment. What the actual percentage may be will depend very largely upon the nature of the property and upon the rapidity with which it has been expanding.

Moreover, only a portion of the money contributed by the undertaking was obtained from the stockholders, as a certain percentage of the capital used in creating the property was derived from the sale of bonds upon which interest alone has to be paid. Thus it may arise in a very usual and normal case that, of a total investment in property, one-third only represents the stockholders' investment upon which the full allowable rate of return will be paid, one-third may be called the users' investment upon which no return to the undertaking is paid, and one-third an investment upon which ordinary or customary rates of interest are allowed. In such a case stockholders obtain a return upon only one-third of the cost-new of the property. The users by their investment have reduced the stockholders' investment and, thus, have obtained the service which they require without the payment of the eight per cent. return which would otherwise have been required had the stockholders used their own money for the needed plant extensions.

It must be appreciated that all that has been said above relative to the share of the users in the investment of a public utility has been based upon the assumption that the uses and users of the utility are increasing so that new money in considerable quantities is required to meet the increasing demands for the service. If, as an example of an extreme case, a utility had been constructed originally of a size to meet all requirements for many years to come, then there would be no opportunity offered whereby the funds contributed by the public through the depreciation reserves could be invested in plant. The same result would be attained, however, by reimbursing the stockholders for a portion of their original capital outlay. In other words, the users would gradually amortize a portion of the stockholders' investment, possibly to such a point as would give the same relative proportions of the cost of the property

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as between the investment of the stockholders and the users as was suggested in the preceding section. Such a plan would result in the reduction of the capital upon which a return would have to be paid and the users of the utility would become financial partners in the undertaking in substantially the same manner as in the cases of more rapidly expanding utilities.

It is seen from what has been said above that the users of a utility are in reality partners in the enterprise, their money is invested in it possibly to an amount equal to that of the stockholders; the users obtain no direct return, to be sure, but indirectly they do obtain a return through the lower rates paid for the service used brought about by their investment. Again, it would seem as if the best interests of the users was subserved by making the investment of the stockholders as small as was consistent with the requirements of successful financing of new securities. Thus a public utility may be looked upon as a form of mutual company. But it is a mutual enterprise only to a limited extent. New money will have to be raised by the undertaking from time to time to pay for the replacements which may become necessary by reason of the old age, obsolescence or inadequacy of portions of the plant. This new money virtually replaces the funds, given by the users for that purpose, which have been diverted from their original purpose but have been used in a manner beneficial to the users, as has been shown above, in the purchase of needed plant extensions. This new money will be less each year on the average than the amount received from the users for depreciation reserves, owing to the rapid increase which has taken place in the size of the plant. This new money must be raised from those who have money to invest, and cannot be obtained from the users. It is this necessity of constantly raising new money that, with most large public utilities in this country, makes it imperative that a sufficient return should be received to induce capital to enter into a class of investment which has practically no speculative value. The responsibility for new financing is upon the stockholders; the responsibility of maintaining the value of the securities of the undertaking is upon the users and can be discharged only by the acceptance of rates sufficiently high to pay not only the annual charges, but a fair return upon the stockholders' investment.

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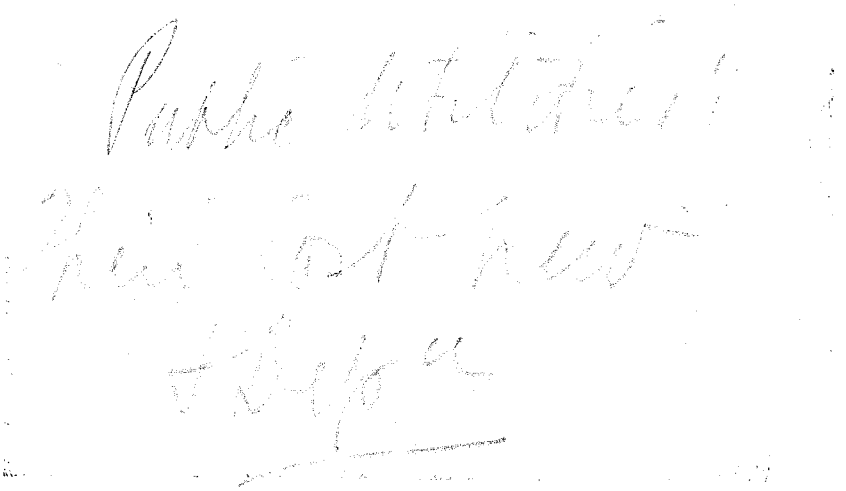
Users of public utilities naturally desire to obtain the service of which they have need, at as low rates as possible, and resent attempts made by the management of such undertakings to raise the rates for service. Unquestionably, one of the duties of the management of all public-utility undertakings is to maintain as far as may be possible rates unchanged; but if wages, taxes, or the need of new, modern and more expensive equipment are increasing, the cost of producing the service increases, and, if rates remain unchanged, there will be an inadequate amount left with which to pay the stockholders a fair and sufficient return upon their investment. Under such conditions new capital cannot be obtained cheaply and the result will be that the undertaking must hold the funds, paid to them by the users as depreciation reserves, for that particular purpose, and thereby deprive the users of their participation as partners in the operation of a successful enterprise.

It is this community of interest between the users of utilities and the stockholder that makes the supervision of public utilities by public-service commissions of a fair and impartial character so desirable. Such commissions act for the interests of the users, but, as the users are virtually partners in the enterprise, anything which detracts from the financial success of the undertaking is injurious to the financial interests of the users and, *vice versa*, the prosperity of the utility means better, safer, and more reliable service to the users as well as lower cost of service.

HAMMOND VINTON HAYES.



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E. A. P.

(On the fly-leaf of Whitty's "Poe")

BY GEORGE E. WOODBERRY

In the proudest of the nations
  Was a wandering poet born;
Skyward its accumulations
  Towered, from mine and forest torn;
Never state was so victorious
  In world-plundering wars of gold;
Never land so earthly glorious
  Of the conquering lands of old.

From the star-bound pole of heaven
  That spins in lyric mirth,
Where the Pleiads are, the Seven,
  Came that vagrant soul to earth;
Echoes of some lost existence,
  Prenatal melody,
As of angels in the distance,
  Haunted his mortality.

But because the poet ever
  Needs befriending, most of men,
And his soul reposes never
  In the gross and citizen,
From the moment that he quickened
  In the heavy air
The heavenly spirit pined and sickened
  Because no love was there.

Spectral thoughts—grim foes—assailed him
  Only poets' minds evoke;
Nought his beauty there availed him
  Dying, stroke on stroke;

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Long his genius pleaded, pealing
  Melancholy chimes,—
As from Paradise came stealing
  The supra-mundane rhymes.

Then his living turned to anguish
  Of the demon-driven storm,
And men saw his glory languish
  Into one pale form,
Ghostly, ghastly,—and his heart was torn with
  Life's wan dream, Despair;
And the beauty he was born with
  Faded in the sepulchre.

The proudest of the nations
  Watched that starvèd power decay;
Heard the maniac lamentations
  Where that soul of beauty lay.
Now, men whisper, genius glorious
  Flees that barbarous coast forlorn,
Lined with turrets, gold-victorious,—
  And no poets there are born.

GEORGE E. WOODBERRY.

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ÉMILE VERHAEREN

BY O. F. THEIS

Two of the most significant figures in recent French literature, Maeterlinck and Verhaeren, are not French at all, but Belgian. Of these, Maeterlinck, through translation and abundant critical (and much uncritical) commentary, has become more familiar even than many prominent English writers, while Verhaeren, the more potent and creatively the greater artist, is hardly more than a name to most readers. Yet he has introduced a new modality into poetry not in France alone, but in other countries. In Germany, writers like Stefan Zweig and Johannes Schlaf, themselves poets of distinction, have translated his work; in Russia, Brjussow, an esteemed poet, has made versions that have made him known there; in Scandinavia, Ellen Key has devoted essays to him, and George Brandes, one of the greatest of living critics, has praised him with enthusiastic acclaim.

All who are sensitive to rhythm and the sweep of poetic passion must remember the time when they first read and were carried away by Swinburne's marvelous innovation which disclosed hitherto unsuspected potentialities in English poetry. Something similar is the feeling when Verhaeren is read for the first time, except that the break from traditional forms is even more marked, for Swinburne, after all, retained much of the outer shell of poetry, both in the subjects he chose and in his phraseology. Verhaeren in his most characteristic work has created entirely new values.

Temperamentally and artistically Verhaeren is a Norseman. His violent individualism, his subjective depths, his often tragic vision of life, and the richness of his imagination indicate this in almost every line. There is something volcanic about him that makes it a curious destiny that he

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should have expressed his visions in French, a language which is made rather for delicate sensations and the refinement of rhetoric, and where poetry is so fenced in by law and tradition. That he succeeded is all the more proof of his extraordinary power, for in his sphere he stands alone and apart from his poetic generation. Perhaps the very restrictions of French verse were a benefit; for otherwise what his work has gained in translucency might have been dissipated in vagueness and eccentricity.

French poetry is as a rule reflective. The intellectual element usually predominates. This has given the beautiful clarity and exquisite form to so much of what is best in French poetry. In Verhaeren the emotional is almost always in the ascendant. It seems as if he ever wished "to immortalize the most vivid moments" of life and to transfuse their quintessence into his poetry. The "lyrical cry" almost always rises high in his work, but it never breaks into the high-pitched note of hysteria, for he is a careful artist.

Verhaeren is the poet of modernity, who, however, does not love the new simply because it is new. Nor is he modern in the sense of refinement of analysis, or the overwrought nerves and neurasthenia which find expression in the pages of Huysmans, in whom the blood of the Lowlands also flowed. But Verhaeren is modern in that he has seized the rhythm of his time which is different from that of any other period. Machinery, democracy, rapid movement from one part of the world to another, huge agglomerations of humanity in cities, industrialism—these are only a few of the new things which differentiate the present from the past. These he has made his own both in their outward aspects and in their æsthetic and ethical significance.

He was born at Saint Amand, a suburb of Antwerp, on May 21, 1855. His father, a well-to-do merchant, had retired from active business and lived in a small house immediately behind the hedges of which the marvelous landscape of Flanders unfolded itself. In *Tendresses Premières,* a book he wrote many years later, Verhaeren has paid tender tribute to the happiness of his childhood days.

At the age of thirteen or fourteen he was sent to the Jesuit School, St. Barbe, at Ghent. In the school-room there he met Georges Rodenbach, who was destined also to become a distinguished poet, and a deep intimacy was

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formed. It is interesting that a few years later another unique literary friendship began at St. Barbe, that of Maeterlinck and Charles Van Lenberghe. Verhaeren and Maeterlinck are still in the midst of their creative labors, while both Rodenbach and Van Lenberghe are dead.

It had been the family plan to have Verhaeren enter his uncle's factory at the completion of his school days. While poetry had not yet come into his life, he was nevertheless disinclined toward commercial pursuits, and to gain time he took up the study of law at the University of Louvain, an institution permeated with conservatism and deeply religious in atmosphere. It was from here that the Father Damien came to whom Stevenson has paid so wonderful a tribute. During his university days he threw himself with characteristic zest into the riotous Flemish life. They were days too when new literary ideals were in full ferment in France. The revolt of the Parnassians had taken place, and the counter-revolt against them; naturalism was beginning to enter upon its excessive but tonic course. Echoes of these movements passed over into Belgium. With others Verhaeren founded one of the inevitable journals, which was soon suppressed by the university authorities.

Before his admission to the bar in 1881, he had found his true vocation; and after it, he spent more time over the books in the Royal Library, than over briefs. Soon he gave himself up entirely to literature, to which he has remained faithful ever since. Later he traveled extensively in Germany, Italy, Spain, and England; he preferred London's black massiveness of soot and ugliness to smiling Florence. With an intensity so passionate that it brought on a physical and mental crisis, he tried to absorb and experience all the thoughts and facts of modern life, and for several years he was almost an invalid. During the summer he now lives at Caillou, a little hamlet in Wallonia, and during the winter at St. Cloud, near Paris, where he is on intimate terms with the great men of contemporary France—men like Rodin, Maeterlinck, Lemonnier, Meunier, and André Gide.

His first volume, *Les Flamandes,* was brought out under the auspices of Camille Lemonnier, the dean of Belgian letters, who died on June 14, 1913. It contains much that is immature, and was of such turbulent violence that his family and the conservatives

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among the critics were scandalized. Flanders had been insulted, they claimed, and to cry down the young author they labeled him "barbarian"; but even those hostile to him had to concede that a new force had entered Belgian literature. There is nothing soft or conventionally poetical in these poems. While the old metrical forms are retained, they foreshadow the freer measures which were later to be his distinctive innovation. The Alexandrines bulge under the explosiveness of his metaphors. The excessive, superabundant health and vitality of Flemish life, like that which appears in the canvases of Rubens, runs through these poems. His realism is as uncompromising as that of Rembrandt. His peasants are from the soil, "black, unhewn, bestial," not deodorized for ladies' boudoirs. One of his critics has called these poems, "red streaming tatters of flesh torn from the body of life." Wonderful as they are in their passion and their glowing colors, they are pictorial and descriptive rather than poetical.

This is almost true of his second book, *Les Moines,* in which many of the poems have an almost Parnassian coldness; but here he shows the other side of Flanders, the land of shadows and *clair-obscure,* and an intimate spiritual life in the silence of which the mysticism of Maeterlinck has root. In subdued colors, he has drawn sharply individualized portraits of the different types of monks and their conflicts among themselves. Through the monks runs the unifying bond of the order, which leads them all toward a single end. It is characteristic of Verhaeren that he admires them not so much because of any traditional religious faith that is left in him, as because of their ceaseless energy in and devotion to what seems a lost cause. Without complaint they suffer and die for their ideal. At this time beauty still represented the past to Verhaeren, and the monks were to him the living symbols of Flemish history and greatness. He sympathizes with their endeavors, and understands them spiritually, but his view is always æsthetic. Before the book was written he had spent a short period in a monastery.

It seems that Verhaeren has himself felt the poetic insufficiency in these early works, for in his maturity, when he had found his measure, he recreated these two aspects of Flanders: the one in his tragedy, *Le Cloître,* and the other in the great pentology, *Toute la Flandre.*

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During the years when his health was broken and a mental crisis followed, the famous trilogy, often known as the "trilogy of sorrow," was produced. It comprises *Les Soirs, Les Débâcles,* and *Les Flambeaux Noirs.* Many of the poems in these volumes were written in London, where the outer aspect of brutality and somber ugliness corresponded strangely with the poet's mood. Seldom have more exasperated lines been written. Their vehemence is almost paroxysmal, and they indicate a state of mind dwelling in a borderland where another step would have meant descent into the abyss of madness. As if fascinated by the prospect, he lays bare with a cruel scalpel the wounds of the self, for in these volumes the poet is primarily subjective. To the very end he traces out the threads of the aching nerves. Negation and the senselessness of life seem inextricably interwoven. Acute as is the pain, the poet never whines. In a general way *Les Bords de la Route* also belongs to the same period.

In the landscape of these books, to quote a passage from Stefan Zweig's brilliant study of Verhaeren:

"All the colors of life have become extinguished, no star gleams in this steel-gray metallic sky, nothing but a cruel cold moon sometimes glides over it with an ironic smile. They are books of sallow nights in which the clouds shut out the sky with huge wings, the world contracts, and the hours like cold heavy chains surround everything. An icy coldness fills these works. *'Il gèle'*—it freezes—so a poem begins, and this shuddering note rings like the howling of dogs, again and again, over the endless plain. The sun is dead, dead are the flowers and trees and even the morasses are frozen in these white midnights."

Death seemed the only way out of the blind alley where he found himself, but slowly health returned and with it his indomitable will. He flung himself out in the midst of life and reality to conquer it, and he has never left it since. The two succeeding volumes, *Les Apparus dans mes Chemins* and *Les Campagnes Hallucinées,* are quieter in tone after this grief and pride, and a feeling as of resurrection runs through them.

From now on Verhaeren becomes the poet of affirmation and the creator of new values. He has found freedom and at the same time the unique and distinctive element of his verse—the *vers libre,* or free meter. In his case the meter did not originate in any self-conscious theoretical considerations, but rather was a necessity which the new themes that he discovered made imperative.

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Verhaeren's *vers libre* is neither eccentric nor haphazard. Henry James has somewhere said that triumphs in verse are only "won through the exercise of art." The *vers libre* in the hands of a master like Verhaeren is intricate and complex; it requires the highest art to make it succeed; it has widened the scope of poetic expression.

Rhyme is retained, but the rhyming scheme is irregular; sometimes assonances are substituted. Rhythm, as must be the case in all poetry, is its fundamental principle. Its varying lines permit a harmony between sound and sense which cannot be obtained in the quadrangular stanzaic form, and it recalls the intimate association between the words and music of the great song-writers. It might almost be called symphonic in structure. A somewhat similar struggle for greater metrical freedom is found in Henley's *London Voluntaries* and James Thomson's dithyrambic poems.

It is a commonplace that Whistler was the first to endow the unlovely banks of the Thames with beauty, and Degas ballet girls and physically repulsive women at the bath. To do this a new technique was required against which the Academicians, of course, raised their voices in protest. Verhaeren in poetry also created a new form of expression, and the *vers libre* was the implement which made it technically possible.

As already stated, Verhaeren turned toward reality. In *Les Campagnes Hallucinées* and *Les Villages Illusoires* his changed attitude toward life is reflected. The Flemish landscape reappears, often, it is true, a mournful and forsaken landscape, for its people have been drawn to the cities by the modern industrial movement. In these volumes are found the wonderful poems on "The Rain," "The Snow," and "The November Wind," poems of marvelous onamatopoetic content in which is concentrated the essence of all that these great natural phenomena may evoke in atmosphere and mood. Here also are the poems on the simple people of the simple trades—the miller, the ferryman, the bell-ringer, the smith,—and they become synthesized into epical and heroic proportions like the humble peasants in Millet's paintings.

"This splendid smith, forging the future on his anvil while he chants his dream, has the same gesture as Siegfried in the cave of the Nibelung beating the sword of victory, and from far away he foretells the new sense of humanity

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which is to enter the lines of the poet." So says Leon Bazalgette, the translator into French of Walt Whitman.

Parenthetically it may here be stated that Verhaeren has certain affinities with Whitman, but where the latter is often uncouth and merely eccentric, as even admirers must admit, Verhaeren is always the finished artist. Something of the same great vision dominates both; but Whitman's is often provincial, showing that he is the product of a new civilization. Verhaeren is the offspring of an old race, and the background of centuries of European culture gleams through his poetry, leaving the golden traces of art and craftsmanship.

In *Les Villes Tentaculaires* (1895) this promise is fulfilled in part. Here the modern city appears for the first time in poetry in all its multiformity. The city of to-day is something different from anything that has been before. The many-headed crowd is there, made up largely of those that have been uprooted from their native soil. A new strange blood—money, gold—seems to flow in the veins of the multitude, driving it with new energy to ends that cannot be anticipated. "What an ocean these hearts, what a tangled knot of wills, squeezed in its mystery!" he exclaims. All the new things are here in a microcosm—factories that swarm with human beings and vomit black smoke, electricity, steam, machines, steel, iron, wood, concrete, tramways, railways, above all noise and restlessness. Even night brings no peace—lights flash up a hundred thousand fold, music resounds, theaters open their doors, prostitutes ply their trade. Among the subjects which are treated in separate poems in this volume are "The Bourse," where the desire for gold is mad amid the cries of the buyers and sellers; "The Factory," where half-naked human beings toil under the glow of lightning-like flames, and others sit like automatons going through the same gestures with ceaseless beat; "The Bazars," with their crowds, dust, and stifling heat; "The Emigrants," inveigled by crafty agents on their way to the city, sad, forlorn, lost creatures; "The Music Hall," where jaded appetites are whipped by lustful flesh; "The Revolt," an overwhelming study of masses in riot; "The Seeker," a dithyramb in praise of science, for Verhaeren does not see in it the antithesis of poetry, since it is to him only one expression of the great world-poetry.

They are passionate and excessive visions that the poet

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evokes in these pages, and his rhythm here first enters upon its fullest sweep. It is flame-like, it expands and contracts, it undulates. In it are the noises of the street, the grumbling of the crowd in revolt, the shots of the soldiers, the rumbling of trains, and the steely hammering of factories. Sublime poetry is achieved with subjects which, had Ruskin had his way, would have been eradicated from the face of the earth.

Verhaeren would not seek, along with Tolstoy, the asceticism of primitive Christianity. Rather he turns toward the future. Much have the cities destroyed of what was noble and good of the past, but likewise they will create much to replace what has been lost. Whether for better or worse, he does not pretend to say. In one of the poems he refers to the ages with their immobile popes, martyrs, and heroes kneeling before the Christ, and they seem to him to tremble under the noise of a distant train which rolls through the city.

After the publication of this volume, all Belgium joined to render public homage to the poet, and in February, 1896, he was the guest of honor at a banquet held in Brussels, where he was acclaimed as the regenerator of Belgian poetry.

A deeper serenity becomes more and more apparent in the books that follow, even though they are filled with the same fervor; and in them his art broadens. In *Toute la Flandre* he again goes to his beloved Flanders and gathers its dunes, cities, coasts, landscape, heroes, and legends, as details for a huge organic whole.

Another influence also enters his work. He leaves the visual present, and an ethical and philosophical element becomes more and more predominant. Behind the apparent chaos and agony of the new world in the process of birth, there must be a mysterious power making for unity. To understand it and to interpret it is his purpose, and his yearning is " to live ardent and clear."

Zweig has well summarized the development of Verhaeren's later work when he says:

"In *Les Visages de la Vie* Verhaeren has sung in individual poems the glory of the eternal forces, mildness, joy, strength, activity, enthusiasm; in *Les Forces Tumultueuses* he has portrayed the mysterious dynamics of harmony and its translucence through the forms of reality; in *La Multiple Splendeur* the theme consists of the ethics of enthusiasm and the relations of man to the external world and of men to each other;

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in *Les Rhythmes Souverains* he shows the most conspicuous examples of the ideals."

Adam and Eve, Hercules, Perseus, Saint John, the Barbarians, the Crusades, Martin Luther, Michael Angelo, Gold, the master, the approaches, the city, the people, prayer, the ship—thus runs the sequence of the last volume.

The old gods are dead, long live Jehovah, the one and only God! But He too is either asleep or dying, and the old force has gone out of Him; therefore hail to humanity! Something like this trembles as an undercurrent in this work. Humanity to him is not the vague Positivist abstraction, but a powerful force ever in ebb and flow which must be roused and to which the poet must give himself with abundant enthusiasm and fervor.

The visions become more abstract and universal, and a tendency toward a more mystical view becomes apparent. A certain vagueness and inclination to become oracular is not always avoided, but even here he never becomes merely rhetorical as Victor Hugo and Schiller so often do. He no longer attempts to express himself alone, but the struggle and endeavor of his age and the world about him. His rhythm now has in it something of the sweep of ocean waves. He has always loved the sea and carried its rhythms over into his poetry; but in his earlier work the sea is a restless malign force which reaches out to devour the land; now it becomes something sacred, "one and pure like an idea," and a symbol of ceaseless force in eternal unrest.

Two poems to "The Wind," written about ten years apart, show still more clearly the change that has come over the poet. In the earlier one the wind is a hostile power which beats and tears to tatters the villages and hamlets. It is grim and angry. It destroys the birds' nests in the trees, it tosses the leaves, it pierces through the cracks of the stables; the old thatched roofs moan under it, the crosses in the cemetery fall beneath it. It screams with cold and is the symbol of erratic wandering, fear, and flight. In the later poem the wind is a wanderer whom the poet loves with the air and the distance. It comes from Sicily where it has gathered the smiles of the gods; from England, Ireland, Jersey, and Brittany with mists in the hair and garbed in rain; over the entire world it passes. From everywhere it brings something clear, pure, and infinitely whole. It ever renews the strong feeling for life.

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Without entering more deeply into the philosophy of his later work, the story of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Paradise, as he has rewritten it in *Les Rhythmes Souverains,* seems to symbolize his attitude toward life.

They dwell in Paradise in idyllic simplicity, but deep unrest in time comes over both. Eve desires love, Adam knowledge. The traditional idea of sin has no place. In the new world where they must toil and eat bread in the sweat of their brow the primeval order of God no longer exists, but around them there is a new rhythm that wavers uncertain and menacing at first. The man, desiring knowledge, soon feels the magnetic attraction of the world, and strength and greatness grow in him to fulfil his destiny; the woman, whose body has grown more beautiful by love, waits for the motherhood that is to come. New responsibilities have come to both and also new pride, new courage, and new hope. Once in the evening Eve reapproached Paradise. Its gates were wide open, but without desire she turned her head away and never returned to the spot.

The theme of romantic love, which has been the well-spring of inspiration to so many poets, particularly in their earlier work, is curiously absent in Verhaeren. He is too masculine and strong to have been caught in the prevailing hyperæsthesia toward sex, which has produced so many exotic flowers in modern poetry. Love to him is only one of the great elemental forces and too self-evident to become a problem.

But love finds a place among his books in the two slender volumes, *Les Heures Claires* and *Les Heures d'Après-midi,* to which a third, *Les Heures du Soir,* has recently been added. They are dedicated to his wife and are among the most tender and intimate poems that have ever been written. From his other work it might have been expected that they would be wild and of uncurbed passionateness; instead, they are his softest and gentlest work. In them the tenderness of a strong man, which is more infinite than any other, finds utterance. They are simple as Verlaine's poems in *La Bonne Chanson* are simple, and as full of devotion and worship, and greater, perhaps, for they sing of a love that has grown stronger and deeper in its marvel of understanding and renewal as the years have gone by. They tell of the things of daily life. In one it is the calm good evening

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hour when the lamp is lit and the simple things are told of the fruit that has been gathered in the garden and the flower that has opened; in another, the evening sky has unfolded and the moon watches over the silence, everything is pure and clear and powerful, there can be no room for doubt when holy trust rests like a sleeping child in souls. To the great poet there is as much beauty in the simplicity of things as in more resounding themes, and nowhere has this been shown as well as here. So wonderful has been his skill that the lines never break to strike a discord in the low soft music of the verse.

Mere description is unable even to suggest the fragrance and sincerity that permeates these lines. The "*gens trop sages*" may mock and smile in their sophistication. A modern of the moderns whose themes often have been the hard hostile forces of steel and industry has here sung the gratitude, tenderness, and peace of a love that grows richer each day, in a series of poems that gleams with the soft light of pearls.

Verhaeren has also written four plays: *Les Aubes* (translated into English by Arthur Symons), *Le Cloître, Philippe II, and Hélène de Sparte.* While they have had an occasional production on the stage, they remain principally "closet" dramas.

O. F. Theis.

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LIVING ENGLISH POETS

BY R. A. SCOTT-JAMES.

A FEW years ago it was the fashion in England to lament the dearth of promising authors, especially poets. But since then English people have assured themselves that they are still, after all, a poetical people. The reproach against the age was taken as a challenge by dozens of young adventurers, who resolved to prove in their own persons that the twentieth century was not without poets. Tiny volumes of verse fluttered forth from the Press. Poetry Societies were started, and Poetry Reviews, and men and women met in a darkened hall to hear Mr. Sturge Moore declaim sonorous verses. Publishers began to advertise new genius, and reviewers began to attend to poetry as if it were really a serious business. The opening pages of *The English Review* were devoted to poems which seemed to be appreciated in proportion to their ever-increasing length. Mr. John Masefield had a success such as had been attained by no poet since Stephen Phillips in his prime. It is true that Mr. W. H. Davies might have starved if he had not received a Government pension; that Mr. Yeats—I believe I am right—never entertained the idea of supporting himself by poetry; that Mr. Doughty has not so much as been heard of by one Englishman in a thousand. Nevertheless, poetry has now become a mentionable subject in decent society; and it is no longer synonymous with Tennyson or even Kipling. It has become a modern thing, lending itself to new experiments, a possible vehicle for new ideas, a means even of becoming notorious on a grand scale.

But before considering some of these younger authors who represent newer phases in poetry I should like to dwell a little upon the work of an elder—one who is not by any means so exquisite a poet as Mr. Robert Bridges, who cannot compare in creative vigor with the greater poets who

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were contemporary with him, nor with his junior, Mr. W. B. Yeats—but interesting for purposes of comparison because his poetry, even his quite recent poetry, has in it the ring of a past age, of a poetic ideal to which we are not likely to return in this century. I allude to Mr. Edmund Gosse, whom we all think of as a distinguished student and critic of literature, but it is very seldom that we hear any allusion to his poetical work. "Any one who has the patience to turn over these pages," he says in the Preface to his *Collected Poems,* "will not need to be told that the voice is not of 1911—it is of 1872, or of a still earlier date—since my technique was determined more than forty years ago, and what it was it has remained." When first I read these words they sounded strangely to me. It was only the other day that he began to edit a distinguished literary page for a daily paper. Still more recently I heard him speaking on a public platform. His activity does not seem to be a thing of yesterday, and it was he who wrote the most intimate and, perhaps, the most interesting biographical study of recent years; as editor and critic he is still amongst active living writers. In reading his later poems we can see how keen is his desire to retain sensibility to the full, not to become stereotyped by the past, or blind to the newer beauties. He is conscious of the passage of the Time-Spirit and the changed ways of men, and the passionate desire of all vital minds to be fully percipient to the last.

"So, if I pray for length of days,
  It is not in the barren pride
That looks behind itself, and says
  'The Past alone is deified!'

"Nay, humbly, shrinkingly, in dread
  Of fires too splendid to be borne—
In expectation lest my head
  Be from its Orphic shoulders torn—

"I wait, till, down the eastern sky
  Muses, like Maenads in a throng,
Sweep my decayed traditions by,
  In startling tunes of unknown song.

In the three hundred and fifty pages of the *Collected Poems* there is nothing which were better omitted. Even the mere literary experiments, the rondeaus, the sestinas—the literary jokes in which every poet indulges—are neatly

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turned. Mr. Gosse has attempted, and succeeded with, a great variety of meters. His diction is almost unfailingly good; indeed, it is the very regularity and faultlessness of his verse that sometimes jars. It is the work of a man many-sided in his nature. He can find himself in the atmosphere of a Coleridge, a Wordsworth, a Keats, a Rossetti, a Béranger, and often his form insensibly glides into that of the precursor whose spirit he for the moment assimilates. He is by no means a mere imitator. His feeling is his own; but his genius seems to be rather assimilative than strictly creative. Scores of his poems have the beauty and the value of the literature written by the great poets, when they were not in their greatest moods.

And perhaps it is precisely the many-sidedness of Mr. Gosse's tastes and interests which has left him so few decisive poetic successes. He has ranged through literature with a catholic taste. He has helped to create reputations—the reputations, for instance, of Ibsen and Stevenson. There have been many calls upon his literary instinct, and it is not surprising that the most uniformly successful of his poems are those in praise of the great men of letters whom, with his faculty for friendship, he made his friends. In the poems on these men—Ibsen, Ruskin, Stevenson, Henry Sidgwick, Rossetti, and unnamed friends who have departed—there is dignity, fineness, and the pathos of a regret for that which he shared with them, though he lacked the power, or more probably the opportunity, fully to express it.

> "But not in vain beneath this lofty shade
> I danced awhile, frail plaything of the seas;
> Unfit to brave the ampler main with these;
> Yet, by the instinct which their souls obeyed,
> Less steadfast, o'er the trackless wave I strayed,
> And follow still their vanishing trestle-trees.

The beauties of literature, of many kinds and in many languages, the feeling and perception of friendship, nature, and the whole life-process through which men pass to a green memory or to oblivion—these are to be found here, the full-bodied expression of a personality—for poetry is that, or nothing. It is no defect in it that it is of 1872—that there is a certain formality, a kind of austerity, even in its flippancies. It is meditative poetry. It is poetry which is essentially concerned with the emotions, the fancies, or the reflections, the very personal and secluded reflections, of

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a mind still concerned about the private ways of the spirit. The emotions, the operations of the mind, and the objective things of life—they are the concern of Mr. Gosse, as they were the concern of Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Morris, and many poets before them. For the most part the men of that age adhered to the traditions of poetry, whether they were romantic or classical. At any rate, on the formal side most of them—Browning is an exception—remained faithful to the accepted types. On the inner side it was an age which was much concerned about its soul, about nature, and about persons—yes, about persons. Whatever we may think about the Victorian age, from its literature at least we should conclude that it was an age when men valued friendships. And so its best poetry was essentially emotional, personal and subjective.

Now, I do not suggest that in the poetry of our younger men there is emerging a single new type with a few distinctive characteristics which can be contrasted with Victorian poetry. On the contrary, if there is anything which we should particularly remark it is the absence of such typical traits, it is the extraordinary diversity of type; men are experimenting with verse, attempting to revive old forms and invent new, to restore the spirit of antiquity or to ride abreast of the practical spirit of the time. Men like Mr. W. B. Yeats and "A. E." sought to unite the ancient, and, as they believed, essential Irish spirit with the spirit which is manifested throughout the stream of English lyrical poetry. In Mr. Yeats there was more romanticism than he would care to admit, though the Elizabethan ideal which he cherished and his own power of concentration did much to subdue and chasten the insubordinate, vaguely aspiring spirit which in lesser Celtic poets turns to froth, with no undercurrent of human truth to give significance to its flaky beauty. Fiona Macleod is the classic instance of this frothy Celtic spirit which is unstayed by human truth or relevance to life; and there is much of this in contemporary Irish poetry. Mr. Yeats is not wholly free from it, but he was conscious of the evil tendency, and subdued it, and the body of fine poetry which stands to his name, taken as a whole, is unequaled for clarity, feeling, beauty and felicity of expression by any large body of poetry standing to the name of any other living poet.

But the Time-Spirit is active, or fickle perhaps, and Mr.

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Yeats has already almost ceased to be a quite modern poet. He, like Mr. Gosse, formed his technique in the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century is casting about with feverish energy for a new technique and new things to express. Mr. William Watson belongs quite as much to the past as does Mr. Gosse, though it might be said of him that he could belong to any age that knew its Milton and its Wordsworth. In him assuredly there was no attempt at inventiveness; he has always repudiated the idea that the poet should seek to innovate. He stands for austerity and discipline in thought, style, and diction, for a fine exactness, which in his case was compatible with the old passion for the idea of "freedom" no less than with that private, self-communing spirit the Victorians loved to express. Such a poet as Mr. Maurice Hewlett, antiquarian as he often is in the subjects he treats, is much more modern in spirit. In style and technique he is one of those who have gone back, as men for four centuries have constantly gone back, to the manner of the ancient Greeks. Just as that clever experimenter in verse, Mr. Ezra Pound, has created something of an effect by repeating the very meters, melodies, and mannerisms of the Provençal troubadours, so Mr. Hewlett, modeling his style upon the far finer Greek originals, produced an effect which was better than Mr. Pound's in proportion as the Greek tragedians are superior to the troubadours. In his execution he has really recaptured much of the manner of the great Greek tragedians. In "The Death of Hippolytus" there is something of the aloofness, the blitheness, the thrust of phrases, the grimness, the sedateness which we associate with Greek drama. If he has little of the passion or fluency of Swinburne, he has some of his phrase-making skill, and he is free from that rhythmical lilt which in Swinburne was often excessive. We shall never be carried away as by the music of "Atalanta in Calydon," but we are often arrested by grim echoes from the actual Greek, apt translations, as they might be, from an existing original.

But though Mr. Hewlett has been clever enough to adapt the technique of Greek poets to his own purpose in poetical drama, nevertheless in his treatment of subject, in thought and feeling, we may see, rather by his defects than by his excellences, how entirely modern he is. In "Minos, King of Crete," the first play in his trilogy "The Agonists,"

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we may find ourselves at the outset not a little irritated by his habit of stage-managing with a view to a public that likes sensational and scenic effects. Shakespeare used thunder and lightning at the beginning of "The Tempest," but only a very modern poet could use these devices as an introduction to tragedy. But it is more to the point that his treatment of Pasiphæ is not only one that would have been impossible to the Greeks, but would have been impossible to any literary age which had not been so led away by modern theories of realism as to believe that any sort of monstrosity, being conceived as actual, might be made also an object of sympathetic emotion. Pasiphæ is a creature of monstrous, unnatural lust, so vile, and so inhuman in its vileness, that it is impossible to conceive that human sympathy should be enlisted in her affair, as if it were a normal and humanly pitiable lapse from virtue. No Greek tragedian ever did attempt, or ever would have attempted, to arouse pity for a creature whose grotesque story expressed the Greek abomination for Phœnician barbarism. Nothing but the Philistine, or, in this case, Phœnician realism of the twentieth century, can account for Mr. Hewlett's attempt to elicit fine feeling from an abnormal and nauseous incident.

It has always seemed to me that the transition from the English Victorian age to the experimental age which followed it was marked by the South-African War. For a dozen years before that war there had been restless movements in the very heart of the nation; the men who were to be most conspicuous at the close of the century were leavening the nation or being leavened themselves. Joseph Chamberlain appeared as the embodiment of the transitional spirit in the political arena. In journalism the movement took shape in the person of Alfred Harmsworth. In literature the man of the moment was Rudyard Kipling. Those three fateful embodiments of the Time-Spirit seemed to dominate England and shake her clean out of her *fin-de-siècle* complacency. England could never be the same again, after those three men had been at the helm, for however short a period. The course was deflected; the reckoning lost. Austere, dignified Whigs would appear again in politics, but never again would their austerity and dignity represent our political system. Sonorous, sober, highly judicious journalists might still succeed in producing, at

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great loss, a journal expressing themselves and their views, but no considerable section of the nation would ever again hang upon their words. And even in poetry, which lies so much nearer to the roots of human nature, and might therefore be expected to vary less with the fashions of a time, we cannot but perceive that the private, personal utterances of an Arnold, a Tennyson, a Browning, a Rossetti, would have less chance of being heard in the din of to-day, however sweet the expression, however intimately moving to the spirit. There is a poet belonging to the younger generation who has written lyrics of exquisite grace and charm, who can deal half playfully, half seriously, with the lightest of subjects, and make it delicate and entrancing; who can touch the deeper note of the romantic poets and make of it something grim, perplexing, haunting; or can produce in a few stanzas an intimate feeling for persons portrayed in some suggestive aspect. Mr. Walter la Mare is well known to a small circle of literary persons, but neither his poems nor his prose-writings have been widely read as they should have been.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling would perhaps shudder at the thought, but it is evident—and it is to his credit—that he was essentially a democrat. He made his appeal to the average man. His ballads were written about ordinary men and ordinary things; the feelings they portrayed were the feelings of every-day life, feelings which every one without distinction might feel in a vigorous and perhaps boisterous way. Wordsworth never really brought poetry back to the common, every-day life of simple folk. Long ago Coleridge pointed out that this was a popular superstition about Wordsworth shared by the poet himself. But to a far greater extent Mr. Kipling did make his appeal to the common stock of every-day and average emotion—the emotion of the average man. He was not interested, as the great Victorian poets had been, in the lonely way of the spirit; in the more personal emotions; or in nicety of expression. For him it was the corporate spirit that counted —the instinct, not for friendship, but for fellowship. He had sentiment in abundance, but he approached sentiment with that sort of nervous braggadocio with which the schoolboy conceals his softer feelings. A clever American critic, Mr. Bliss Perry, alludes to that " commonness of mind and tone " which Mr. Bryce declared to be inevitable among

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masses of men associated, as they are in America, under modern democratic government. "This commonness of mind and tone," says Mr. Perry, "is often one of the penalties of fellowship. It may mean a leveling down instead of a leveling up." The loud stridency of Mr. Kipling's voice is perhaps "one of the penalties" which has to be paid for the democratic sentiment of fellowship.

That there should be some "leveling down" is sure to follow when the poet finds himself absorbed in the common emotions of common life, and speaking to the common man. But there need not necessarily be that coarseness of sentiment, that crudity of thought, that bigotry of limited sympathy, miscalled patriotism, which has debased the level of so much of Mr. Kipling's writing. I should say that Mr. G. K. Chesterton owes more than he supposes to the influence, direct or indirect, of Mr. Kipling; that though his opinions, his sympathies, his conclusions are all diametrically opposed to those of the elder writer, still there is something in common between the two which is essentially a democratic quality, the final standard being that of reference to commonness, normal feeling, the common man. Mr. Chesterton wrote a very stirring poem in the "Ballad of King Alfred," a ballad which appealed to patriotism, fellowship, and those broad, profound emotions which underlie the common sense of a people. Mr. Chesterton's ballad was nearer to the spirit of the "Barrack-room Ballads" than he, I am sure, would be willing to admit.

Mr. Kipling did this great thing, if not for literature, at least for men and men of letters. He expressed emotions in language which was as far as possible from the language of æstheticism. This meant, perhaps, that he could not express very subtle or unusual emotions, that his perceptions were broad rather than fine; but he at least taught the world that there were certain profound manly feelings which might be expressed without the preliminary *unmanning* of æstheticism; and his distinction lies in the fact that he uttered them with vehemence and intensity. In Victorian times the average citizen thought of poetry as a somewhat weak-minded, effeminate pursuit — as very often it was. The poet who might be persuaded of the sublimity of his calling had necessarily to steel himself against the abuse of the matter-of-fact persons who have no traffic in poetry; and in so doing he lost the advantage of that bracing though

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insufficient criticism by which the sane, practical man influences many of the arts;—that is to say, the readers and upholders of poetry everywhere agreed to put the poet beyond the reach of a criticism from which prose can never be wholly exempt. The matter-of-fact view being put out of court in the judgment of poetry, the poet was encouraged to believe that he was not concerned with the same universe as that of common fact. I have heard literary critics speak of romantic or highly imaginative novels, saying: "It is all delicate fancy and imagination; it is not concerned with realities; it is sheer poetry"—as if poetry were not concerned with realities! I have heard people criticize the prose works of a given writer:—"This is all too musical, and sentimental, and self-centered; this sort of thing cannot be done in prose; it should be done in poetry"—as if nonsense becomes less nonsensical by means of meter or rhyme! This easy-going view of the function of the poetic art has borne an ample harvest of nonsense. I could, were it worth while, name many living bards who consider that any sort of fancy or feeling is good enough for poetry so long as it be prettily or gracefully handled, who would thus degrade poetry to the position of the easiest, as it has for long been the least prized, of the fine arts.

This havoc has been wrought, in part, by what I may call the doctrine of the sensitive soul. Keats is the classic example of the poet who lived and died through sensitiveness. It was a weakness inherent in the romantic movement which, though it had so much that was enchantingly strange and beautiful to give to the world, bequeathed to it also a consciousness of its nerves and a pride in its very defects. When Coleridge had taught his successors to glorify the poetic perception and vision, to give to the secret feelings a new warrant and value, they came to think it boorish to conceal their fine feelings, and they acquired the habit of expressing feelings which the common man scarcely experiences without a sense of shame. The poet came to be essentially the man who felt acutely, and anything that was a "feeling" came to have a sort of value of its own as denoting poetic sensitiveness. Hence the excessive softness, the indefiniteness, the languishing and the effeminacy which since the beginning of the nineteenth century have been tolerated in poetry because poetry was supposed to be the proper vehicle for such weakness. It is

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significant that the most admired poem of Keats begins with a sentiment which we should agree to detest in a prose-writing:

> "My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
> My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk—"

I contend that as this sentiment would be intolerable in prose, so also it is not to be suffered in poetry.

Now the Kipling epoch did introduce a certain hardness, or masculinity, into the cultured life of the country which gave an opportunity for escape from the querulousness and the vagueness which had become poetic habits among English poets and lovers of poetry. I say the "Kipling epoch," for Mr. Kipling himself never had the self-discipline, perhaps had not the sense of form, to achieve much durable poetry, and his very masculinity turned at last into an unmasculine shriek. He marked no more than the transition period. Mr. Chesterton is a part of it. He, too, is lacking in sense of form and diction, and could never have been a considerable poet, though there is in his writings abundant evidence of poetic feeling. What I am concerned to observe is that his ballad poetry, too, is marked by that essentially masculine note which seemed to have died out of English poetry—unless Browning and Morris be taken as exceptions. Mr. Hilaire Belloc comes at the latter end of the transition period. When a man has only written a few poems it is injudicious to say of him that he is a great poet. But at any rate Mr. Belloc has written a few poems which belong to the great order of lyrical verse, and in "The South Country" he surpasses anything that Kipling or Henley achieved, anything perhaps that any English lyrical poet has written this century. If that is not a great poem, then I forswear great poetry, and will be content with the less. There is all Mr. Kipling's sense of fellowship, a thousand times refined, and in alliance with Heaven knows how many of the vital emotions of life, the sense for concrete, simple things, the sense for things remembered, of tragedy expected but not feared, the feeling for men as men, for places as places, for things as things, for the emotions as the serious toys of life, for the ludicrous as the surface aspect of the pathetic—for the whole male side of existence which poetry since Chatterton has been inclined to ignore.

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It is quite evident in the very early poetry of Mr. John Masefield that the loudly reverberating ballads of Rudyard Kipling had had their effect upon him; that something of their sheer vehemence and lustiness had mingled with his own feeling for the tropical seas into which he had adventured, with the vivid sense of men and things in strange places which had wrought upon his imagination as years before they had wrought upon Mr. Conrad. Needless to say, Mr. Masefield in most respects stands at the opposite pole of temperament from Mr. Kipling. He is a lyrical poet whose poetry springs not so much from intense interest in the lusty vigor of common life as from an intense feeling for sheer beauty, for that exquisite refinement which may be extracted from life, and it may be mingled with equally intense pain when the beauty is removed. He is, perhaps, nearer akin to the type to which Keats belonged. But certainly the arrival of the spirit represented by Kipling, added to the discipline of his own early adventures, braced him and energized him; and almost his first literary effort took the form of ballad poems uniting a fineness and sweetness which were entirely his own with a kind of lusty vigor which was superimposed. It is easy enough to see the influence of Kipling in the ballad beginning:

"Spanish waters, Spanish waters, you are singing in my ears,
Like a slow sweet piece of music from the grey forgotten years;
Telling tales, and beating tunes, and bringing weary thoughts to me
Of the sandy beach at Muertos, where I would that I could be."

Those early ballads had the emotional vigor without the characteristic defects of Kipling, and in many cases a charm which was entirely his own. But he very early shook off what there was of that Kipling influence. It was superficial and transitory. Mr. Kipling, as I have said, represented a transition period, and another, an experimental period, has followed. It is probable that Joseph Conrad became a far more potent influence on the imagination of Mr. Masefield than any one other author; though he was assuredly not content to follow any single example, and began steadily to experiment and to strike out his own line. It was unfortunate that the craze for experiment and innovation should, for a time — probably a brief time — have had so strange and uncouth an effect upon so fine and sensitive a genius. Mr. Masefield was—and is—a lyrical poet, fitted

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to express the personal emotions which lyrical poetry can support. But he became obsessed with the conviction that poetry ought to be made to do something else than suggest feelings and ideas in a beautiful way; that it ought to serve a social purpose; that it ought to become a direct contributory force to the social morality of the time; that it ought to concern itself with practical modern questions in a practical way; that it ought to present actual life, realistically. The same feeling affected a lesser poet, Mr. Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, who, being a story-teller in verse, and a moralist, has been acclaimed as a powerful poet in both England and America. Mr. Gibson has not yet shown that he is a considerable poet. But Mr. Masefield undoubtedly does possess the poetic talent, perhaps even genius, which Mr. Gibson has not yet sufficiently revealed. Yet the most recent poems of the former have been praised for just the same reasons that Mr. Gibson's have been praised. The New York *Outlook* said of Mr. Gibson: "He is bringing a message which might well rouse his day and generation to an understanding of and a sympathy with life's disinherited—the overworked masses." Mr. Masefield's "The Everlasting Mercy" and his series of realistic poems of the same order have been lavishly eulogized in exactly the same way—and for a similar reason. Each of these poems contains a rousing story; each subserves the purpose of an excellent moral. They are realistic enough, but only in rare passages are they beautiful. "Nothing," said Shelley, "can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse." I have felt that Mr. Masefield's long narrative poems might equally well have been expressed in prose.

I believe this to be more than a passing phase in Mr. Masefield. A poet who could write the charming lyrical poem which by a curious accident was published at the end of "The Everlasting Mercy" in the *English Review* will not long be content to write sensational tracts; we may even be glad that these tracts have been written if they bring the public to attend to the more significant work of so finely gifted an author.

But I am very far from suggesting that the effort made by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Masefield to bring poetry into touch with modern life is without significance. It represented reaction against the querulousness, the vagueness, the mere

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prettiness which have so often resulted in nauseous verse. It had its source in the same impulse which led Mr. J. M. Synge to create his finest imaginative effects by means of a severely realistic method. And still earlier Mr. Doughty, who holds a solitary position in modern poetry, had expressed himself in the only way that was natural to him, through an archaic language, the language in which he thought, which lent itself to the hard, vivid and superbly brutal images belonging to his primitive, barbarian, and as it were primeval theme. Mr. Doughty belongs neither to our own nor to any other age, but he has not been without influence upon men of our time. To appreciate "The Dawn in Britain" or "Adam Cast Forth" is to long for the hardness and masculinity which have been rare in English poetry for a hundred years; to feel that what poetry needs is more grit and more brain; and to plead for these is to plead for more poetry, for a stronger imagination.

There is one among the younger poets who has given promise of satisfying these needs, though it remains to be seen whether he may not perhaps be over-weighted on the side of intellect. But in "Mary and the Bramble" and "The Sale of St. Thomas" he has shown us how the poetic imagination ripens into food for adults when virility and intellect have gone to the making of it. There is no mere prettiness in Mr. Abercrombie's writing. The wearisome refrain of sex, disappointed or desirous, neither has part in the argument nor supplies him with images or asides. Innumerable things and events upon the earth appeal to him because of that full-bodied experience which they carry to the wakeful and the zestful, experience which is manifold, which fills all the chinks of memory, which may recall pain, which may be charged with pathos, but is never morbid; beautifully he masses vigorous impressions of sense under a large imaginative idea. Here there is no pale, languishing phantom of beauty, but that which men delight in without the verbal distractions of the æsthete.

In "Mary and the Bramble" he has taken an intellectual idea and treated it allegorically, and essentially poetically. The Virgin Mary in his story symbolizes the "upward-meaning mind," fastened in "substance," yet pure and "seemly to the Lord"; and the bramble which clutches her and seeks to smirch her purity is the folly, the muddiness, the stupid cruelty of the world which mocks at all

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vision, at all idealism—it is the mortal trying to drag down the immortal part of man. Mary is the love of beauty, or of God; the bramble is the stupidity and grossness of the practical world.

But Mary, "in her rapt girlhood," with her "eyes like the rain-shadowed sea," is not the less sweet because she stands for an idea.

> "Through meadows flowering with happiness
> Went Mary, feeling not the air that laid
> Honors of gentle dew upon her head;
> Nor that the sun now loved with golden stare
> The marvelous behavior of her hair,
> Bending with finer swerve from off her brow
> Than water which relents before a prow;
> Till in the shrinking darkness many a gleam
> Of secret bronze-red lustres answered him."

And when the Spirit of Life vaunts itself in her,

> "Not vain his boast; for seemly to the Lord,
> Blue-robed and yellow-kerchieft, Mary went,
> There never was to God such worship sent
> By any angel in the Heavenly ways,
> As this that Life had utter'd for God's praise,
> This girlhood—as the service that Life said
> In the beauty and the manners of this maid.
> Never the harps of Heaven played such song
> As her grave walking through the grasses long."

I cannot dwell upon the subject of "The Sale of St. Thomas." The dialogue between Thomas and the Captain gives opportunity for description and metaphor almost Elizabethan in their ferocity, though the reflections of Thomas have a spiritual quality which is entirely modern. We hear

> "Of monkeys, those lewd mammets of mankind."

And of flies staring

> "Out of their little faces of gibbous eyes."

And there are lines such as

> "Men there have been who could so grimly look
> That soldiers' hearts went out like candle flames
> Before their eyes, and the blood perisht in them."

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Which might be placed side by side with Marlowe's

> "The frowning looks of fiery *Tamburlaine*
> That with his terrour and imperious eies,
> Commands the hearts of his associates."

And we may contrast these vehement records of things with the more philosophic passages.

> "Thou must not therefore stoop thy spirit's sight
> To pore only within the candle-gleam
> Of conscious wit and reasonable brain;
> But search into the sacred darkness lying
> Outside thy knowledge of thyself, the vast
> Measureless fate, full of the power of stars,
> The outer noiseless heavens of thy soul."

We may well think that the immediate future of poetry depends upon men of the stamp of Mr. Abercrombie, men for whom poetry is neither a plaything, nor a sweet-sounding expression of desire or anguish or vague dreams; but a serious attempt to grapple with life through combined experience, thought, and vision. Long ago Meredith urged that if fiction was to go on living, it must give us "brain-stuff" and "foodstuff." But no poet has since arisen to make some similar claim for poetry; to urge that within its proper sphere and in its own appropriate way it should attack the larger life of man with intelligence, with common sense and with virile passion.

Mr. W. H. Davies stands apart from them all. I should not like to try and account in any way for Mr. Davies any more than he could account for a singing-bird by describing the trees among which it lived. His poetry is unlike any other poetry that is written to-day. It is fresh and sweet like a voice from a younger and lustier world. It is charged with no clarion message of prophecy; it is burdened with no exactly formulated philosophy of life. There is no rhetoric in it, no rhodomontade. It is the melody of a man's voice singing for the pleasure of singing, now vehemently, from the sheer delight in things physical and outward, now sadly, as some evanescent object induces melancholy, now in a naïvely reflective way, as past or future brings memories or expectations. He never reaches quite the exquisite melodies of Herrick, but when he writes of love he is as simple as Herrick, and he is more direct, more heart-whole,

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less of the perfect singer, perhaps, but more of the lover. If he writes with wide-eyed wonder at the simpler marvels of life, it is in the manner of Blake in "Songs of Innocence," where outwardness of manner and lyrical simplicity leave an impression of something unearthly in its strangeness. Occasionally in the slight extravagance of his imagery we can see that the influence of the seventeenth-century "metaphysical" poets has not left him unscathed, as when he likens love to the influence of spring opening up navigation.

But it is a sure instinct which has taken him to the simpler lyrical poets and led him to mold his style on theirs. His interests lie in the purely personal affairs of the heart; the simpler emotions may be best expressed in those lyrical forms in which the older English literature is pre-eminent, which eschew the fervid rhythms of the soulful nineteenth century. But he is not merely imitative. Sometimes in the same poem we see him, now conforming to the manner of the traditional love-poet, now revivifying it or bursting through it with images and ideas that are wholly personal to himself.

"She had two eyes as blue as Heaven,
Ten times as warm they shone;
And yet her heart was hard and cold
As any shell or stone.

"Her mouth was like a soft red rose
When Phœbus drinks its dew;
But oh, that cruel thorn inside
Pierced many a fond heart true.

"She had a step that walked unheard,
It made the stones like grass;
Yet that light step has crushed a heart,
As light as that step was.

"Those glowing eyes, those smiling lips,
I have lived now to prove
Were not for me, were not for me,
But came of her self-love.

"Yet, like a cow for acorns that
Have made it suffer pain,
So though her charms are poisonous,
I moan for them again."

In any other poet the cow and the acorns would be an

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intolerable extravagance; but not so from Mr. Davies, who knows and loves all beasts of the field; who knows what it is to tramp over stones and to tramp the grass, so that his "stones like grass" rings freshly, while the dew-drinking Phœbus is stale.

But if he seems to belong to an older tradition, and to have little in common with the self-conscious modern poet, that is only because his life has kept him away from the fashions and fashionable ideas which are the intellectual superficies of our time, which distinguish the culture of one age from the culture of another. He loves with the strength of intimate friendship the unchanging things in the natural world, the sea, things that grow, and animals and birds. And he is acquainted with the other unchanging things—love, the desire for food, hatred of death, friendship. He is also too keen in his sympathies and interests not to be modern in the sense, for instance, that the romantic appeal has had its effect on him, or that the ugly facts of modern life have stirred and pained him. There is a great variety of emotions registered in his poems. There is the grim ballad called "Treasures." There is a bold union of magical romanticism and sensuous passion in the poem beginning:

"I met her in the leafy woods,
Early a summer's night;
I saw her white teeth in the dark,
There was no better light."

There is a remarkable confidence and elation in the little poem, "The Elements," wherein he identifies himself with nature—it could only be quoted entire. And he records his impression of a tram-car which sweeps along Westminster in the twilight carrying its load of sleeping men from work. He can also write in a vein wholly unlike that of his simple and more characteristic lyrical verses. Thus he describes his childish impressions of a mariner "no good in port or out," as his granddad said:

"And all his flesh was pricked with Indian ink,
His body marked as rare and delicate
As dead men struck by lightning under trees,
And pictured with fine twigs and curled ferns;
Chains on his neck and anchors on his arms;
Rings on his fingers, bracelets on his wrist;
And on his breast the *Jane of Appledore*

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Was schooner-rigged, and in full sail at sea.
He could not whisper with his strong hoarse voice,
No more than could a horse creep quietly;
He laughed to scorn the men that muffled close
For fear of wind, till all their neck was hid,
Like Indian corn wrapped up in long green leaves;
He knew no flowers but seaweeds brown and green,
He knew no birds but those that followed ships.
Full well he knew the water-world; he heard
A grander music there than we on land."

All of it is the intensely personal and direct poetry of a man of many moods, many sympathies, but happily removed from the cramping effects of current fashions of thoughts, and talk about thought. He has lived in the open air and among simple people, but always companioned by the poets. And so we have in him a singer fresh and unspoiled, writing from impulse, probably with little conscious technique, about things which he knows and the immediate experiences of life.

R. A. Scott-James.

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THE BETTER PART IN CONVERSATION

BY O. W. FIRKINS.

In this casual little essay I am quite free from the bad conscience which in our over-lessoned time is the sure mark of a didactic intention. I have no wish to urge my readers to reform either themselves or their countrymen in the matter of mutual speech. I am only too happy that in this much-regulated world something, however humble, should be left to mismanage itself in peace, and, of all things in the world, conversation has surely the best right to prefer its instinctive or indigenous sins to its imported or inoculated virtues. In these days when the jurisdiction of conscience embraces every sphere — except, shall we say, the sphere of morals?—conversation, among men of ordinary decency and courtesy, should be allowed all the privileges proper to the gipsy and the wastrel that it is. Why, then, speak of its "better part"? Why seek to rivet the chain to the rhythm of flowing periods in praise of the delights of liberty? The question is apposite, but may not a sketch of the ideal to which some familiar and cherished exercise inevitably approximates be of real interest even where circumstances forbid us to seek to realize it—even where, as in the present instance, the effort at realization would be itself an infraction of the ideal?

In America to-day conversation is kept back both by racial and temporal or (to use a good word which Emerson has been unwisely allowed to monopolize) secular impediments. Neither the Englishman nor his transatlantic variant or abridgment, the American, is inherently a speaker. With the suppler Latin races speech has the ease and artlessness of breathing, of which, indeed, as physiologists and the analytic Sir John Falstaff assure us, it is nothing more than a modification. But the Teuton remembers that speech is a muscular exertion as well as an efflux, and he classes it with

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boxing and wrestling among athletic or gymnastic feats. If the topic be serious, the difference between his speech and that of the Frenchman is the difference between an ultimatum and a *pourparler*. The object of talk for him is to expedite the reversion to silence. Talk for talk's sake, conversation in the artistic sense, is in his eyes (or ears) a condescension, an episode, a parenthesis. He apologizes to his ancestors and compatriots for doing such a thing at all by doing it badly; to do it well would be a frivolity.

The record of the great talkers of England—take, for instance, that autocratic dynasty whom Holmes designated by the titles of Samuel the First, Samuel the Second, and Thomas—hardly fills us with envy of their auditors. The intimates of Johnson, the first of the Samuels, paid high for their privileges — high enough to make one quite content with a safe asylum in the twentieth century and the candor of the immitigable Boswell. The great lexicographer (the overbearing designation is happily typical), except in moments when the depths of his perversely generous heart were touched, might be ranked among the most gregarious and yet the least sociable of men. Even in the drawing-room or the club, the Tory in him was stanch for prerogative.

One doubts, again, if the privileged are always the fortunate when one reads the story of the disquisitions of the second Samuel (Coleridge) at Highgate as reflected, for instance, in the opening pages of the *Life of John Sterling*, lifting its obsequious auditory to the seventh heaven, or, possibly, consigning it to a Buddhistic Nirvana in which unconsciousness became both the cause and the evidence of bliss. And as to Carlyle himself, that later Carlyle, at least, to whom a younger and worthier predecessor had been ruthlessly immolated, can we view with unmingled regret the passing of those conversations in which all the puissances of his time underwent the ceremony of decapitation in a fashion too vividly suggestive of that Reign of Terror which his historic imagination had so strikingly portrayed?

To charge all this to the specific deficiencies of the Anglo-Saxon temper would be undiscriminating; part of it might, provisionally at least, be referred to a wider law by virtue of which the great talker is unpropitious to talk in the same way that the great individual is a menace to individuality. One recalls those consummately trained interlocutors of Socrates in the Platonic dialogues to whom every point is

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ceremoniously referred with the deference of a modern Prime Minister in consulting the judgment of royalty, and whose perfect drill is exhibited in the punctual arrival of the "Very true," "That is evident," "Undoubtedly, Socrates," at the moment when corroboration is required.

It is not merely the race or abstract human nature that is unpropitious; the time also is unindulgent to the talker. All talk should be amateurish, but the amateur is everywhere shut in by the ubiquitous, the deplorable expert, just as in a thickly peopled district the camper-out is excluded by the increase of the resident proprietors. The expert in mathematics or zoology is relatively harmless, but the amenities of life suffered a cruel wrong when politics and literature and morals, the rightful or common property of man as man, became leased out to monopolizing specialists. There is always the smothering consciousness of some one at one's elbow or in the next room or the next street whose knowledge makes one's own opinions puerile. It is the edge of the unknown, the borderland of knowledge, that is perennially stimulating and suggestive, and, in the days when nobody knew too much about anything, every one could enjoy the excitement of living on the frontier. Nowadays all of us—experts apart—reside in the interior, and the encompassing territory has forfeited in our eyes, through its mastery and subjugation of others, the lure of the unpeopled wilderness. Our meadow, our woodland, is some one else's yard or park, and the check to exploration is decisive.

The ablest men are the most sensitive to the ban; the stupid are protected by imperviousness. One is meagerly consoled by that alternation of superiorities which the shift of topics tends to produce. Conversation should not be a throne from which the master gazes down into the reverent upturned eyes of the disciple on the stool at his feet, nor a see-saw in which each participant purchases the right to look down on his vis-à-vis from a dizzy elevation at one moment by the humiliation of looking up to him from a correspondingly abased position in the next. It should be a broad, roomy bench without variations of level, with latitude enough for the comfortable disposal and untrammeled movement of one's arms and legs.

The expert himself is only indirectly responsible for these troublesome and irritating restrictions; the blame, if blame there be, rests equally on the meekness of his auditors. I

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belong to a tiny club in which informal discourses in various lines by competent investigators are followed by what it pleases us to call a discussion. As I have listened, after the conclusion of the address, to the obsequious "isn't-its," the deferential "don't-you-thinks," I have sometimes wondered if the declarative sentence were not to follow the potential mood into the limbo set apart for the outworn forms and discarded usages of English grammar. Any opinion, however idiotic, that stood upon its own feet would have immeasurably lightened the strain and eased the cramp of the undeviating submissiveness. The specialists had not brought about or invited this state of affairs; indeed, their freedom from egotism would have provoked aggression from any audience less stubborn in its docility. The fat man in the street-car seat does not wish to restrict his neighbor to a narrow third or fourth of the space theoretically halved between the two; the fact is merely the involuntary result of accumulations likewise involuntary. The expert must plead guilty to the accumulations, but he is often himself regretfully sensitive to the social incumbrance they involve. The fact that among our friends we say "you know," meaning "you don't know," bespeaks the sound general view that among well-bred persons superiorities are indiscretions.

When modes of procedure were discussed at the institution of this club, one of the members hardily proposed that informal talk both during and after the meal should occupy the two or three available hours. The cry was forthcoming: "We don't want to be bored!" One was happy to learn that an hour's efflux from the same mouth was so sure a specific against tedium; and one was interested to note the mood of mutual terror in which men seek each other's companionship. In conversation we are at each other's mercy, and our fear makes us rigorous. We are full of timid precautions and shuddering inhibitions. In England and America, the policing of conversation—if the term may be indulged—is not the less effectual for taking the form of a secret service. In addition to the inevitable and desirable proscription of the bore, the bully, and the blackguard, the unwritten law in these countries protects our hours of ease against three interlopers which in other lands might be hastily mistaken for benefactors. I have in mind the feeling, fancy, and style.

The Duke of Argyle in a brief reminiscence of Tennyson

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sets it down as a high and rare proof of friendship that the poet once said to him in reference to Lady Tennyson: "It's a sweet, spiritual face, is it not?" In a land where so mild a self-unbosoment as this is a proof of the closest intimacy, the race may be social in its tight-girt, close-buttoned way, but the feelings are certainly eremitic. The Englishman loves by stealth: he is not only naturally shame-faced, but he fears by any exhibition of feeling apart from controversial heat or moral indignation to forfeit the dearest of the conversational rights—the right of satire. The Frenchman holds to his satire as closely as his insular neighbor but, if his literature be candid, he is less afraid of the effect of a humid atmosphere on the brilliancy or crispness of his pyrotechnics; he passes easily from mockery to feeling, and *vice versa,* and his sentiment does not thaw his cynicism, nor his cynicism freeze his sentiment. Whether the compatriots and co-linguists of Dickens really like the prohibitions which they so inflexibly maintain is a question for the analyst of racial tempers; one suspects sometimes an inner revolt, and asks himself if the awkwardness does not promote the reserve almost as much as the reserve sustains the awkwardness, if the Englishman's reticence in speech may not be compared to the novice's misgivings in a foreign language.

When fancy is in question, the prohibition is equally strict except possibly in the field of humor. In other words, you are allowed to display fancy, provided that you admit or proclaim—that it is nonsense.

The intrusion of style into conversation is the subject of an even harsher censorship. Even license has its points of exigence, and we pay for that informality which permits so many crudities and laxities in speech by an exaggerated and morbid sensibility to whatever savors of the stilted or formal. The reception of a "phrase" in conversation in English-speaking circles reminds one of the embarrassment which attends the unforeseen saying of grace in assemblies unaccustomed or disaccustomed to the rite. Still more disheartening is the respect with which the antithesis with its coxcombical double bow-knot is received among people for whom literature is an august and onerous responsibility. Even the epigram, which was once thought to be the acme of conversational felicity, has its unmistakable drawbacks: its hard, compact, glassy, orbicular finish may brighten a

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conversation, but can scarcely give it impetus: it is segregated by its very perfection.

In this point, again, the French have the advantage. They have a language that takes on literature much more deftly and unconcernedly than English, a language that somehow always wants to be literary—that is, not quite at home in homely and vulgar uses, and escapes into literature, so to speak, with a sigh of relief. A tincture of style in the conversation does not impair its fluency or ease. In English we have noble and mighty styles, at their best quite commensurable with the French; but the language submits to style with a visible effort, under discipline or duress as it were, and the effort, even when slight, is distinct enough to be repugnant to that morbid sensibility to the formal or the finished which marks out studiedly unstudied conversation. The difference between French and English talk in literary moods is the difference between a school-girl and a school-boy attired in their unwonted best for a gala day; the former takes naturally and happily to the splendors of the occasion; the latter is uncomfortable in the measure of his elegance.

All these restrictions denote a race which in its conversation is jealously and timidly self-protecting, which in this field prefers security to adventure, which guards its exemptions at the cost of shutting off its opportunities, a race in which the fear of being bored or displeased is far in excess of its thirst for entertainment. To such persons the pith of companionship is not intercourse, but propinquity; silence is scarcely a hardship, and the commonplace is a valued safeguard. It is a curious little paradox that our precautions against bores and fools should reduce our conversation to a featureless uniformity which drives us to the theater to divert ourselves with the Shakespearian or Goldsmithian counterparts of these very bugaboos. In all this I have no propagandist or reformatory purpose: I suspect the articulation or enmeshment of these reserves with the fiber of our race to be of a kind that postpones the hope of extrication to a future of mocking remoteness. After all, the bargain is not wholly ill-judged: we pay dear for immunities which are indisputably worth something.

There are two exceptions which Anglo-American vigilance allows to its conscientious adherence to the ascetic ideal in human intercourse: these are debate and humor. The lust

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of combat sometimes breaks down the fortress of reserve, but the benefit to pure conversation is often questionable. I cannot but think that the debate in which gallant and hardy spirits rejoice is much better in the form of alarums and discursions (to borrow Mr. Chesterton's quaint, perhaps punning, recast of a Shakespearian stage-direction) than in the harsher form of a pitched battle. Many brief encounters at many distinct points, but few long engagements in the same position would be the maxim, if not the practice, of the discriminating. Long arguments leave the territories of both combatants overridden and laid waste without the compensation of an assured victory to either. The profits of extended discussion are conditioned on a prevision and thoroughness which our improvident and scatter-brained conversation is constitutionally incapable of supplying. It is difficult to find the true middle ground between a light fingering and rummaging, which is too casual and inconsecutive to produce results and an overhauling and overturning of the whole establishment, with the lamentable possibility of failing in the end to discover the thing wanted. Debate has its real value, and its fascination is incontestable; but, when earnest and protracted, it contradicts the true aim of sound conversation. The purpose of mutual speech is to find in other minds an access to fresh points of view, an escape from the provincialism of self; debate, if long and warm, has the effect of shutting a man up in the narrowness and airlessness of his original conviction.

On the side of humor, our good fortune is less checkered and less debatable. It is natural enough that races which deny themselves the luxury of outbreak should break their rule in favor of that peculiar form of overflow by which all other excesses and indiscretions are chastised. Humor is dear to us as the guarantee of sobriety; it represses every exuberance except its own. The English and American peoples are happily constituted in the quickness and ease of their self-recovery from the momentary intoxication induced by the advent of a joke. The perfect acrobat consummates his feat by the instant and easy resumption of the attitude of disengaged repose; there is an equal felicity in the sureness and quickness with which our stock recovers the normal level and balance after the unsettling somersault of humor. Exceptions, of course, may be found by the seeker. I have seen audiences listening to a diversified

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address on which each new joke acted like another glass of champagne in the generation of a light-headed, almost tipsy mood, which destroyed the capacity for the taking-in of the serious ideas. This occurs more rarely in social groups, and almost never in what we call the dualogue. Indeed, the incursion of humor, overwhelming as its first superficial effects would appear, often fails to arrest not merely the flow of conversation, but even the continuity of topics. A joke in a party of serious men may be likened to a conflagration breaking out in the busy center of a great city; the temporary ravage may be great, but the influx of recuperative energies speedily offsets and overbalances the loss. In the association of humor and earnestness in the same proposition—so happily exhibited by the French—we are less successful than in the facility of transition from one form to the other. By way of indemnity for our self-restraint in other fields, we demand of humor a completeness of release, of self-abandonment, which the addition of point and luster gave to a grave insight is commonly insufficient to afford.

Debate is occasional, and humor sporadic: and what is the true inwardness, the final value, of conversation? A famous phrase doubtfully applied to poetry might be helpful or suggestive at this point: the criticism of life, or more precisely, the compared and contrasted criticism of life. This other man—there is an almost tragic finality in that *other*—what has he made of the world? Seated at my elbow, yet with the gulf of individuality between us, formed of the same block as myself, yet so curiously and definitively foreign—what shape has the universe taken in this singularly like but paradoxically and disquietingly different reflector? The answer to this question, not lumped in the abstract, of course, but dispersed into countless particulars, is the marrow and essence of conversation.

The ground of this interest is personality, but personality only, as a source of difference in the estimate formed of the common, the universal, material. Details of gains and losses, of migrations and business, are objectionable not because they are personal, but because they are impersonal; they have no foothold in individuality. I dissect a patty at the lunch-table at the moment when you butter a roll; but we all butter rolls or dissect patties in the course of the meal, and the moment of incidence is insignificant. Your children have the whooping-cough, and my brother is embarking for

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Hong Kong; but the whooping-cough reaches every family some day, and at the same time every one's brother embarks for Hong Kong or its equivalent. Both facts are reckoned among the common liabilities, and the settlement of dates is immaterial. The interest that mutual friends take in these points is not properly conversational. On the other hand, every trifle that defines an attitude may be significant. It is a sign of culture to have reached clearness on the fact that, for purposes of conversation, the self is the least worthy of texts, but the most invaluable of commentators. All first-hand opinions are interesting as phenomena, however worthless they may be as verdicts. The amount or ability of the logical support is not always the decisive consideration; all temperaments are as such implicit valuations of the universe, and, in temperaments concentric, so to speak, with the frame of things, the valuation may abound in interest.

The abstract fact, the burly, hulking, unmannerly fact, is an unhappily large ingredient in transatlantic conversation. As things now stand its presence is an objectionable necessity. What with the vastness of general knowledge and the variety of individual acquisition, a difference of equipment on most topics is presumable in almost every pair or group of persons, and the ground must be leveled after a fashion before the real game can begin. The distribution of knowledge by such media is notoriously uneven and unsure and the variety of information which might be thought to insure piquancy is limited by the same restriction which affects the contents of baskets at a church picnic: they come from different larders, certainly, but from larders eventually dependent on the same primary sources of supply. In the conversation of two average men on politics one can almost hear the gentle susurrus or rustle of the inosculating sheets of the two journals they habitually read. If it be the rumble of justling folios that is audible, the effect is so much the worse.

All this turns conversation from a form of art to a branch of commerce. A fact in the mouths of intelligent talkers is much like a laborer on our lawns or in our parlors: he is none the less in the way for being temporarily indispensable. The vitalizing stir of personality is shut out; the fact remains a chattel bound to its possessor by an inorganic tie. People recite their little lesson with the vanity of well-drilled school-boys, or, still worse, with the authority of expert

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pedagogues. To turn humanity into a guide-book or handbook, a more rambling and less authentic Baedeker, is to ignore its higher, its really human, uses.

I would not, of course, pass an edict, even a tacit one, debarring information or domesticities or even egotisms from the field of conversation. I would merely recognize their status as aliens. The conservation of topics, the problems of the social commissariat, sometimes makes their aid a relief even when it is also a mortification. They remind us a little of the cheap lunch-counter or the shabby novel which we are quite content in our hours of physical or literary destitution to use as a resource, and equally content in our self-vindicating or self-compensating moments to turn into an object of ridicule or invective. In the great caravanserai of conversation, moreover, one expects, and half craves, a bold inclusiveness and venturesome diversity; its spirit is expressed in a mischievous dickering and temporizing with its own standards; a restiveness under its own law, a happy insolence toward its chosen ideals, are phases of its adhesion to those ideals and that law.

Finally, let us never slight the element of discovery in conversation. The best talk is in its nature a reconnoissance, a gay venture into untried and unsafe territory on the doubtful side of the mapped confines of truth. Too much of our talk is historical, a resort to yesterday, a consumption of deposits; the good truth is the truth that is born or reborn at the moment of utterance or of repetition. The interest of life is diminished by the fact that, left to ourselves, we approach our own thoughts, as we do our own houses, by stereotyped routes; the companionship of another may oblige us to freshen our perceptions by altering our course. Nothing helps talk more than a touch of skepticism, a distrust of finalities. The shrewd man knows that the soundest of his convictions probably shuts him out from the clear view of some other truth by which his misguided neighbor illegitimately profits. He loves to peer around the adverse and repellent wall of his own settled beliefs; he delights in the abrupt turn, the quick side-glance, which surprises the unwary and fugitive truth. Respectable proprietor as he unquestionably is, he is also something of the vagabond disposed to prowl with criminal designs in the vicinity of his own barns and hayricks. For men of this type the fortuities and the audacities of conversation have an equal suggestive-

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ness. There are truths that lurk in the shadow of the unknown, that haunt the confines of error; they perish, like the unknown and the erroneous to which they cling, in the daylight of investigation. The difference, both moral and physical, between conversation and books is that you need a clear light to read by, but you may talk as long as you please in the twilight. One could wish at times that there were more play in conversation—not more levity (of that the supply is ample)—rather less levity and more play—more forays into the unknown, more hide-and-seek with truth, more temptings of possibility. We should share the detective's right of belying the truth in the endeavor to evoke or ascertain it.

But I linger too long on a theme whose very nature offers a certain countenance to loitering and discursiveness. To converse with a man is to concede to him a great privilege; it is to put our minds into his charge and conduct for many brief but swiftly recurring periods. But to read his essay, to yield up to another mind the exclusive direction of our thoughts, that is of our lives, for an hour more or less, the magnitude of that concession should make the recipient at once generous and circumspect. In conformity to which thought, at once flattering and admonitory, I make haste to conclude my essay.

O. W. Firkins.

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THE MAD ENGLISHMAN

BY NORMAN DOUGLAS

I HAVE been learning about the Ass Wouralia; likewise about the Rumpless Fowl and its absurd objection to laying fertile eggs; about the Vulture's Nose and Apple Trees and Cannibalism and Dry Rot; about Tight Shoes, Tight Stays, and Tight Cravats. In other words, I have been reading Waterton's Essays—magnificent stuff! Or rather, re-reading them. For a close inspection of the dusty volumes has revealed an inscription to the effect that they were purchased by myself in the summer of 1882; and the pages, furthermore, are enriched—encrusted, one might say—with holograph annotations of that year, setting forth very candidly my opinions of the author and his work. It has given me mixed feelings to peruse this running commentary, testifying, as it does, to a dreadfully deficient sense of humanity, to ardent love of natural history coupled with a certain elvish facetiousness which may well have passed, in those unregenerate days, for humor. How—how odd they are—these glimpses into one's own vanished self!

Of course we all know Waterton's *Wanderings*—that astounding book wherein, by the help of copious tags from Horace and Cervantes, the courteous reader is beguiled from his comfortable fireside into the wilds of Guiana, there to undergo nerve-shattering encounters with Labarri snakes and other improbable monsters, to devour dimpled monkey-babies and ride on crocodiles. Let me at once say that I firmly believe this cayman business. If David Livingstone or the anonymous author of the Book of Job told me they had performed such a feat, I should acquiesce—out of sheer politeness. In Waterton's case I acquiesce from conviction. Nobody, you will say, has ever ridden on a cayman. Exactly! Nobody but Waterton would ever have dreamt of doing any of the things that he did. Nobody, for ex-

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ample, would dream of riding on a crocodile. That settles it. Waterton rode on a crocodile.

One would think that a naturalist penetrates into these tropical jungles in order to study their wonderful life or to collect birds and insects. But such is not his style: not a bit of it. He goes there to find the wourali poison, being convinced—for some cryptic reasons which I despair of elucidating—that it might prove a cure for hydrophobia. And why should a non-professional trouble his head about the treatment of hydrophobia? Ah, that is Waterton's secret and his charm! Why, indeed—why any of the funny things he did?

It is a pity that we possess no photographs of this prince of eccentrics. He objected to being taken in any position save from the rear—a rather inadequate method of portraiture; the bust of him, fashioned in old age, strikes me as chill and unsympathetic, but the frontispiece to the third volume of the Essays may give some idea of his whimsical and kindly nature. Not that he could not fight. He fought his zoological contemporaries and enjoyed many a lusty bout with Audubon and "Master Swainson" and Macgillivray; he fought the Treasury, he fought his neighbors. He fought, above all things, that Protestantism which had despoiled his grandfathers of their worldly goods in the days of "Saint Harry the Eighth, our Royal Goat." While praying for unbelievers—

> "I pray for those who now have got
> A creed infected with the rot,
> And wickedly have set at naught
> That which our ancestors had taught. . . .
>
> "Again, for those I often pray,
> Who tread in Luther's crooked way;
> Or Calvin trust, or seek salvation
> In Mrs. Southcote's proclamation"—

he invented, simultaneously, a truly Watertonian device for giving vent to his bellicose feelings by projecting all Lutheran misdeeds, past, present, and to come, into the *corpus vile* of an insignificant quadruped—to wit, "Hanoverian" rat. This miserable rodent, because it was presumably introduced by "Dutch William," became for him the embodiment of non-Catholic propensities and was persecuted with the ardor of a Torquemada.

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For the rest, he was a man of peace; an autochthonous gentleman of the North country—the finest flower of generations of crusted fox-hunting Tories. A man of merits, too; a pioneer of taxidermy, and an indefatigable observer in the field. But, chiefest of all, a perambulating repository of fads and perversities.

Those Essays of his—a kind of intellectual back-water—seem to have been written on another planet. And yet, somehow or other, they are intensely human; so unsystematic—so very, very English in their glorious irrelevancies. He ambles through a hundred pages of a "History of the Monkey Family"—stranger history was never written; discourses amiably of this and that; argues whether monkeys throw missiles or not; relates his friendship with a caged lady-chimpanzee and how, on departing, he implanted a soft kiss on her maidenly cheek; and concludes with the startling proposition that monkeys are arboreal animals. He can be as pompously platitudinous as you like—

"Inhabitants of Scarbro'!—I love to pass my leisure hours amongst you. May you ever smile and ever prosper. But, observe! although old Ocean rolls his favors on you, your Mother Earth has not been quite so bountiful: for you cannot boast a river. . . .

"Who can look without rapture on the beautiful proportions of the horse? His mane hanging down a well-formed neck, seems a counterbalance to his long flowing tail as he moves along; and we are all of us aware of what amazing advantage this last-mentioned appendage is to this noble beast, when a host of flies are ready to devour him. . . .

But though all these Essays are saturated with the author's idiosyncrasies, the most poignant revelation of his incongruous nature is that autobiography which runs alongside. There is a smack of the Grand Tours lingering in this record of a leisurely progress through the regions of continental Europe; a smack, too, of a decidedly queer outlook upon things in general:

"At Rimini, now celebrated for its miraculous picture of the Blessed Virgin, we could see the larger and smaller species of bats, on wing, as the night set in. Here again, large turkeys and common fowls were most numerous. . . . Fleas were vigorously skipping about, but we neither saw nor felt a bug."

One can imagine the impression created by such a man at a civilized foreign town like Aachen. He never drank wine or beer; he never slept in a bed; he never wore a hat or

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boots; he spoke and dressed oddly; he got up every morning at three thirty and spent his time dissecting crayfish or anything else that came handy. What must the hotel servants and visitors have thought of him? I know perfectly well what they thought. *Der verrückte Engländer!* He is, he must be, the prototype of that "mad Englishman" whose tradition still survives here and there.

Only think what he did in Rome. To begin with, the road happening to be in bad repair, he arrived at the Eternal City with his feet in such a condition that he was laid up for two months on a sofa (he was always doing foolish things with his bare feet, and always suffering for it). Hardly is he well again than he climbs up the angel that surmounts the castle of Sant' Angelo and takes up his stand, on one foot, on its head—a position that would have made any self-respecting chamois seasick. All Rome rings with the exploit: even the Pope becomes interested in the mad son of Albion. Now Waterton, a devout Catholic, would dearly have liked an audience of His Holiness and the thing might have been managed if—if the Squire could have been induced to don some English (Protestant) uniform for the occasion. But no: the Hanoverian rat!

To console himself, he watches the pig-killing operations at the slaughter-house, compiles a careful catalogue of the birds that are exposed for sale in the market, haggles with small boys about rock-thrushes' eggs, and spends fabulous sums in the purchase of sham masterpieces of art. At last all is ready for departure: eighty birds have been preserved, as well as a porcupine, a badger, some shell-fish, and a dozen land tortoises.

He departs; but not alone. With him go, in a roomy cage, a dozen living owls. And thereby hangs a tale. For these owls, squeezed through the Genoa custom-house by hook or by crook, suffer a serious mishap on reaching Aachen. The fact is, their plumage had become soiled from the long journey, even as Waterton himself was somewhat inconvenienced by its effects. Warm water is plainly desirable, and it stands to reason that what is good for the Squire is also good for the owls. Waterton orders a hot bath for himself, and another one for the owls. They get it. "Five of them," he records, "died of cold the same night."

I would give my ears to see the procession winding up the drive of Walton Hall after one of these continental raids

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and pilgrimages. Even on ordinary occasions the domain must have been a sight for the gods. For if the Squire as a human being was full of irresponsible fancies, here the whole region oozed eccentricity. Freaks stared you in the face. The park contained an agglomeration of weird contrivances for catching this and killing that; the mansion, beginning at the very door-knocker, was a nightmare of monstrosities and playfully-ghoulish surprises. Your head swam; you were bewildered, dazed by freaks.

And the arch-freak was the owner himself.

On his fourth trip to South America (1824) he traversed a portion of the United States—drawn thither, largely, by the descriptions he had read in Wilson's *Ornithology*. He was hugely pleased with the "gentle and civil people," and more particularly by the ladies, to whose attractions he reverts again and again. "Nothing can surpass the appearance of the American ladies, when they take their morning walk, from twelve to three, in Broadway. The stranger will at once see that they have rejected the extravagant superfluities which appear in the London and Parisian fashions"—here follows a characteristic disquisition on women's hats—"They seem to have an abhorrence (and a very just one) of wearing caps. . . . How would Canova's Venus look in a mob cap?" He talks of the "immense number of highly polished females who go in the stages to visit the different places of amusement," adding that "words can hardly do justice to their unaffected ease and elegance."

At New York, "all charges included, you do not pay more than two dollars a day. Little enough, when you consider the capital accommodations and the abundance of food." Buffalo, too, possesses a "fine and commodious inn." Here, in stepping out of the stage-coach, the Squire had the misfortune to sprain his foot, an accident which he recorded, in one of those polite verse-effusions to which he was subject, in some lines beginning—

> "He sprained his foot and hurt his toe,
> On the rough road near Buffalo.
> It quite distresses him to stagger a-
> Long the sharp rocks of famed Niagara. . . ."

Now, to spray an inflamed joint with cold water is plainly the correct treatment. But everything in America being on

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a grand scale, the traveler's ideas become enlarged as he journeys through the country, and he soon discovers that the watering-can or village pump, which might have ministered to an injured limb in England, is hopelessly out of place; bigger forces must be requisitioned; nothing, in fact, will serve the occasion save to hobble painfully down and suspend the swollen ankle under the cataract of Niagara. This is Waterton all over. After that, he goes to Canada, and "in all the way from Buffalo to Quebec, I only met with one bug; and I cannot even swear that it belonged to the United States." It was a half-grown, ill-conditioned beast, and instead of being treated after the manner of its kind, it was "quietly chucked among some baggage that was close by, and recommended to get ashore by the first opportunity." Who but Waterton would have recorded such an incident? While thinking himself a perfectly natural person, he was temperamentally incapable of behaving like anybody else.

Gilbert White, no doubt, was his intellectual ancestor. But White had an industry and full-blooded zeal which the other lacked; he was discriminating, purposeful, constructive; altogether, a luminous creature and of relatively modern texture. Waterton is more readable than naturalists like Jesse on account of his all-pervading personal note; but taken all round, he remains chiefly conspicuous for his negative qualities, for his splendid limitations. He had no spacious view of life—no view at all, save through a certain narrow telescope that restricted the field of vision, intensifying one tract at the expense of another. What the world presented to his eyes was an assemblage of disconnected facts which it was his business not to explain but to record. Tobacco-smoking is a beastly habit; to wear an amulet against sudden death is an excellent idea; man does not kill his fellows, because there is a law written in his heart forbidding him to do so—and the wigeon eats grass. Such is "Dame Nature's" command. She knows what is good for everything and everybody; and if she sometimes makes a mistake or exceeds her mandate—why, there is always God overhead, to put things to rights again.

So he lived, this mellow country gentleman; at once a warning and an exemplar, like the rest of us. He had a bird-like habit of pecking at all sorts of mental pabulum, and

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allowing it to pass out of his system half-digested. His worldly experiences never resolved themselves into a truthful whole, for Stonyhurst, if it fortified his moral sense, had warped and atrophied his mind, rendering him permanently unsynthetic—fragmentary in every point save one: in his crankiness. In that he was superb. If a man took thought for a lifetime, he could never figure forth a more harmonious and lovable freak. As grotesque as that old fowl of Mauritius, he is nowadays, alas, almost as rare. For phœnixes are all very well, but we do need an occasional dodo, to diversify the landscape.

Darwin may quote from the original and accurate observations of the Yorkshire squire, but what does Waterton care for the portentous movement of his later life—what does he know of any of those landmarks like Homer or Dante or Goethe? He had been fed on orthodox pap, on Virgil, Dryden, and other safe writers; and it is a suggestive commentary on our social state that this mighty personage, the twenty-seventh Lord of Walton, should be disqualified by his creed from attaining that elementary knowledge which was at the disposal of the poorest peasant boy on his estate. To chronicle the matrimonial irregularities of the barnacle gander; to feed your unsuspecting visitors on a dish of carrion crows and chuckle inwardly at their mistaking them for pigeons; to jump at the age of seventy-nine over a formidable wire fence—these were his aims and diversions.

It was one of his jocular habits to give names to the more prominent animals and trees in his park. Among the birds there was a malformed wild duck, deprived of the web between its toes, which Waterton had received as a gift " in an ecstasy of delight "—seeing that everything in the nature of a " sport " struck a chord of elective affinity and warmed the cockles of his heart. This bird was forthwith christened " Doctor Hobson."

Its human original, a genial and loyal physician of Leeds, was himself something of an ornithologist who became acquainted with Waterton during the latter part of his life, and took charge of his health—as best he could. In after years he wrote an account of the " Home, Habits, and Handicraft " of his friend which is truly refreshing—a kind of spiritual shower-bath—in these strenuous days of sex-problems. Doctor Hobson venerated the Squire and all his

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little failings; he assimilated his curiously tangled and wayward style of writing; he has entered into the very bones of his hero. And not all of us, be it noted, are heroes to our medical advisers. This biography is a fine monument of friendship; even as the friendship itself says much for the characters of both of them, since Waterton's peculiarities might well have repelled other men of science. I suspect that the unswerving uprightness of the Squire won the doctor's affection; that little incident at Leeds, too, when Waterton with incredible nerve and steadiness of hand removed twenty-eight rattlesnakes from one box into another, may well have impressed a medicine-man, conscious of the ever-present risk of death.

Be that as it may, the Squire has found a Boswell after his own heart; the enthusiastic reporter of all his anfractuosities, of all his gentlemanly pranks and absurdities. The Table of Contents alone of this remarkable book is a joy forever. It contains items like this: *An Ox-Eye Titmouse builds her Nest in the Trunk of a Tree prepared for Owls; but declines occupying it in future years because a Squirrel had used it.* Or this: *Discriminating Courage of the Squire with an Ourang-Outang from Borneo, in the Zoological Gardens;* followed by: *The Ape Searching the Squire's head reminds him of a Cambridge anecdote.* Or take these stimulating entries: *An Allusion to a stench from a dead herring near the Grotto, induces the Squire to relate an incident regarding dead letters. . . . Mr. Waterton faces a snow-storm without his Hat, and throws his Slippers over his head when approaching his 80th year. . . . Mr. Waterton distressed because his Bahia toad was called an "Ugly Brute!"*

The volume is full of stupendous things of this kind; it reproduces also some of the Squire's letters which illustrate the child-like structure of his mind:

"I don't care who holds the helm of our crazy vessel, so long as "Mummery John" does not get hold of it. You did not arrive according to promise. We hope to be more fortunate on Palm Sunday after you have requested your spiritual adviser to keep a blessed palm for you, when he delivers the sprigs to the assembled multitude from his Altar. Stop, I ought to say table. Many thanks for your communication. I hope that you will pursue the investigation. It is somewhat singular that I have never yet found the large bone in the wings of water-fowl full of marrow. . . ."

There is another entry to this effect: *The Squire remon-*

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strated with by the Author against too frequently "tapping the Claret." This excessive "tapping the Claret" bleeding himself—was one of the few traits of which the physician-biographer disapproved. Whatever happened to Waterton—whether he ate too much, or tumbled off a mule, or had an accident with his gun, or caught a chill: out with the lancet! Even in his eightieth year he did not hesitate to bleed himself to the tune of twenty to twenty-four ounces at a time; he must have lost a barrelful of the precious liquid in the course of his long life. In the jungle he tried to induce the vampire-bat to bleed him; many a night, he says, "have I slept with my foot out of the hammock to tempt this winged surgeon"—in vain! He was dry as a stick, and the sagacious vespertilian sought its dinner elsewhere.

And of course his ultra-Catholic tendencies were not quite to the taste of Hobson, who, however, deals gently with such infirmities, merely suggesting that he "had an inordinate amount of credulity in his composition." Indeed he had. He was no modernist or reconciler of the impossible, but a Catholic *comme il faut*. Reared in the unrelenting machinery of Stonyhurst, he was cut into its cleanest pattern, and preserved throughout life its edges intact, its surface untarnished.

He traveled expressly to the Tyrol to see an ecstatic female in a convent, and convinced himself of her divine state by feeling the stigma on one of her hands. Nothing in his whole life, he says, struck him so forcibly as the liquefaction, at Naples, of the mixture which he devoutly held to be the blood of Saint Januarius. He speaks with reverent awe of Benedict Labre—that half-witted vagabond, who never washed or took off his clothes, and was covered from head to foot with vermin which he refused to exterminate. And although a belief in the miraculous transportation of the House of the Blessed Virgin is optional to his co-religionists, yet he writes that there are authentic proofs of the aerial voyage of this mansion, and that, for his part, he believes in the miracle.

Doctor Hobson's chief concern was to mitigate the severity of those periodical abstinences from food which the Squire's stern Catholicism imposed upon him. As for the House of Loreto and the like—he had too much tolerance to disquiet himself about such discrepancies. After all, birds are birds and men are men; all of them liable to variations, and

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all these variations ordained for dark providential reasons. A sparrow hops and a wagtail runs: shall all human beings think and behave alike? And if inclined, at times, to regret his friend's "ardent attachment to the priests," he amply compensated himself by praising his sincere love of nature, his rectitude and guileless purity of heart and—last but not least—those flexible lower extremities which enabled him, as a heavy patriarch, to scratch the back part of his head with the big toe of his right foot or to clamber aloft, with the agility of an adolescent gorilla, into the breezy summit of an oak.

And here we leave this *par nobile fratrum:* Æsculapius on earth, fondly admiring but prudent; his ever-youthful octogenarian comrade in the verdurous foliage overhead, reading Ovid's Metamorphoses and glancing occasionally through a spy-glass to see if perchance the Rumpless Fowl, that preposterous and unmatronly bird, has at last thought fit to hatch her own offspring in accordance with Dame Nature's self-evident decree.

NORMAN DOUGLAS.

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SOCIAL HYGIENE: THE REAL CONSERVATION PROBLEM

BY LEWIS M. TERMAN

THE prevention of waste promises to become the dominant issue of our entire political and industrial situation. Thus far the problem has presented three leading aspects: first the conservation of natural resources; second, release from the danger of international war; and, third, the prevention of premature death and physical inefficiency. Let us consider the last of these problems in its relation to the public school.

By way of preface, the reader should be reminded that the general population of both Europe and America is only now emerging from the dark ages of personal and social hygiene. Let us not be deceived on this point by the recent brilliant accomplishments in a few lines of surgery and preventive medicine. The keen and daring researches of a few score bacteriologists are more than offset by the thousands of people who still use liverwort for jaundice because of the fancied resemblance of its leaf to the human liver; by the tens of thousands who treat sprained ankles by the Christian Science method; and by the millions who spend hard-earned money for patent blood-tonics or bottled consumption-cures. The popular notions of personal hygiene are little better than a seething welter of ignorance and superstition, not all of which is confined to the confessedly uneducated. To the average person, certainly, the phenomena of life, growth, decay, and death are still strange mysteries. In popular superstition various disease entities have replaced the numerous spirit entities of old as irrational forces with which man is doomed to wage blind and uncertain combat.

The cost of this ignorance in money, sickness, death, and grief is stupendous. Basing his estimate upon statistics of

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mortality for ninety different diseases and accepting the expert opinion of numerous medical specialists as to the ratio of preventability for these diseases, Professor Irving Fisher has reckoned that the general adoption of a few well-established hygienic principles would add fifteen years to the average span of human life. For the most part these fifteen lost years would be years of economic productivity. It is evident that every premature death entails an economic loss upon society, varying according to the age of the person dying. It is computed that the new-born child has an average money value of at least ninety dollars, which increases to nine hundred and sixty dollars at five years, to four thousand dollars by twenty years, and drops again to two thousand nine hundred dollars by fifty years. The minimum average loss to society from each postponable death has been elaborately figured at seventeen hundred dollars. Of the one million five hundred thousand deaths in the United States each year the combined opinion of the best medical authorities regards at least forty-two per cent. to be postponable, or six hundred and thirty thousand. The annual loss to the country from this cause is therefore seventeen hundred times six hundred and thirty thousand, or one billion seventy million dollars. But this is not half the story of waste. For each unnecessary death there are several cases of unnecessary illness, the total cost of which, counting medical attention and wages lost, amounts to about one billion dollars more. The Great White Plague alone involves an annual loss of five hundred million to one billion dollars, typhoid three hundred and fifty million dollars, malaria one hundred million dollars besides its indirect injury in undermining health, and the hook-worm at least one hundred million dollars more. The loss of economic efficiency from alcoholism, vicious habits, undue fatigue, minor ailments, and lack of expert direction of the human machine can only be vaguely guessed at, but is probably greater than from all the other causes enumerated. America's leading prophet of personal hygiene believes that it is within the power of the average individual to double his economic efficiency by better methods of living and working. Apart from this we suffer an aggregate calculable loss from preventable illness and death of at least two billion dollars per year, or nearly four times the sum spent for public education.

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Nor does this statement do justice to the account. Waste of life or health, far more than waste of the earth's natural resources, involves grief and moral suffering of a kind not commensurable with gold. Infant mortality illustrates the point. In the most enlightened countries, from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of all babies born are permitted to die in the first year of life. In Russia, Austria, and southern Italy the mortality of infants runs from twenty-five per cent. to thirty per cent., while in certain limited districts of even England and Massachusetts the per cent. of mortality goes as high as forty to fifty. Bacteriology teaches that from two-thirds to nine-tenths of the infant deaths are due to ignorance or neglect of a few simple hygienic precautions which could and should be universally applied. In the face of this fact, statistics demonstrate that infant mortality is the one plague not appreciably affected by the recent advances of preventive medicine. Although the money value of the infant to society is relatively small and the economic significance of infant mortality is therefore much less than that of tuberculosis, morally the two problems are of nearly equal importance.

Whatever advances bacteriology may make, this needless slaughter will continue little abated unless the new generation is educated to a different hygienic viewpoint. There is no other agency that can perform the function of the public school in this respect. The time is at hand for the school to make a nation-wide campaign for the hygienic enlightenment of the young.

Let us consider for a moment the relation of the school to tuberculosis. Of the twenty million school children in the United States, some two million will succumb to this disease, for the most part in the prime of life, after society has met the cost of their maintenance and education. Investigations of the prevalence of active infection among children of school age indicate that probably not fewer than two hundred thousand tubercular children attend the public schools of the United States every day. Careful medical examinations in England, Germany, and America indicate that tuberculosis is *discoverable* in from one-half per cent. to one and a half per cent. of the entire school population. Certain disclosures as to the course of the disease lead us to suppose that numerous other children have it in undiscoverable form, one of the most authoritative estimates

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placing it between eleven and fifteen per cent. It is the belief of tuberculosis specialists that the infection frequently occurs in childhood, remaining latent in most cases until adolescence or after. Autopsies of children who have died of other diseases at the age of twelve to fifteen years show that from twenty to forty-five per cent. reveal unmistakable lesions of previous tubercular infection, either of lungs, glands, or bones. Even when the infection begins much later, the basis for it is probably laid in childhood. The war against tuberculosis will be of little avail if it neglects the period of childhood. On the other hand, half the battle will be won if we can prevent the onset of the disease in children and if we will at the same time teach the new generation how to live.

At present the school is at fault in both of these respects. It helps spread the plague while doing much less than it might to teach hygienic habits of living. The school-room at its best is an unhealthful place to abide, and at its worst it is unspeakable. Among other ways, this shows itself in the disproportionate mortality from tuberculosis among teachers. In Denmark, Germany, France, Canada, and eight of the large cities of the United States, the mortality of female teachers from this cause is two to three times that of lawyers and clergymen. In fact, teaching is only exceeded in this respect by the notoriously unhealthful occupations of stone-cutter and printer, and gives a percentage of mortality fifty per cent. greater than is found among saloon-keepers. In one district in France it was lately charged that one-fifth of the teachers were consumptive. A rather superficial investigation was made by the school officials to refute the slander, and the report of this survey admitted the presence of the disease in about one out of thirty teachers.

It does not need to be affirmed that the presence in the school-room of the consumptive teacher is a social crime. But the responsibility of teachers is infinitely greater than as possible factors in spreading infection. To stop here is to miss the crux of the problem. The important thing is that the bad air and unhealthful occupations of the school lay a basis in the child of crooked spines, cramped chests, impoverished blood, weakened hearts, and sedentary habits, the logical issue of which is tuberculosis.

It has been said that the two greatest discoveries of

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modern times are the value of children and the value of fresh air. At any rate, one of the most portentous discoveries of modern experimental pedagogy is the Open-Air School, which at present seems destined to revolutionize not only school architecture, but pedagogical methods as well. Begun at Charlottenburg, Germany, only six years ago, they have spread throughout that country and to several cities of England and America. The Boston School Committee has decided to build one open-air room in each school building hereafter to be constructed, and the Boston school physicians have decided by individual examination of the pupils that five per cent. of their hundred thousand school children stand in urgent need of the regimen of the open-air school. Children who attend such schools are invariably found to gain on an average six to ten pounds in the first three months and to show astonishing gain in the percentage of hemoglobin and the number of red corpuscles in the blood. Notwithstanding the fact that they are given only about half the usual number of hours of book-work per day, the advantages of fresh air, warm lunches, and more sensible pedagogical methods enable these children, while recovering from disease, to make the same school progress as their fellow pupils who have sound bodies and full-time instruction. This, if anything, ought to jolt the pedagogue out of his dogmatic slumber. It recalls the surprising progress of "half-timers" in New York City not so many years ago, who were found at the close of the year to be better prepared for the succeeding grade than those who had attended the full day! If the open-air school is feasible in the severe climate of New England, it should be the prevailing type of school architecture in the States of the South and the Southwest. In California, Florida, or similar climates, there is no excuse for the erection of any school building with four solid walls.

In countless other ways also the public school offers the richest possible field for the application of preventive medicine. For illustration, we know that a perfect condition of physical nutrition is of basal importance for a healthy development, but investigations reveal the fact that in the cities of England and America from five to fifteen per cent. of the children in the schools are suffering from malnutrition. By "malnutrition" is not meant "starvation" in the ordinary sense of that term. It must be remembered

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that the child thrives not on what it eats, but on what it can digest. Thousands of children of the economically well-to-do are ill-nourished, because of improperly chosen food, impaired digestive processes, or dental disabilities. So remote a matter as eye-strain is known to cause disturbances of digestion and assimilation. From whatever cause it originates, the existence of a state of malnutrition in a considerable body of our school-children should be a matter of deep national concern. Such children are the fruitful soil where disease, social misery, and crime take root and grow. The hook-worm disease offers the classic example of the physical and mental effects of a prolonged interference with the nutritive processes. It gives us spindling and stupid children who grow up into men and women shiftless, stunted, degenerate; ready prey for the various infectious diseases. Malnutrition from any other cause produces results not different from these in kind, though usually less in degree. We have nearly a million ill-nourished children in the public schools. We cannot expect of these children normal progress. If the school does not adapt itself to minister to their special needs it is likely to serve only to speed them on their way to premature death or a life of physical, mental, or moral invalidism.

Closely connected with malnutrition is the question of defective teeth. Wide-spread investigation shows that eighty to ninety-five per cent. of all school-children have one or more decaying teeth, the average being three or four per child. As a rule the sixth-year molars begin to decay within two years after their appearance. About fifty million decaying teeth go to school in the United States daily. Probably one million of these have reached the aching point. It would be difficult to overestimate the amount of ill-humor, bad conduct, and unhappiness caused thereby in pupils and teachers. The very atmosphere of the school-room is redolent of decaying teeth. It is loaded with millions of bacteria of some forty-five or fifty different varieties exhaled, sneezed, and coughed from the mouths of the children. At the same time the passing misery of toothache and the occasional offense to our æsthetic sensibilities are of no importance compared to the danger to life and health from the defective nutrition which is almost sure to follow. Dr. Osler believes that the problem of oral hygiene is as important for national vitality as the problem of alcoholism.

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There are two ways to attack the problem of dental disability of children, both obvious and practicable. In the first place we must replace our academic and ineffectual teaching of physiology with practical lessons in hygiene, or, where possible, with drills in hygienic habits. As remarked by William H. Allen, it is more important for the child to know the anatomy of the tooth-brush than the anatomy of the tooth. If every school had its tooth-brush drill and its baths we might some day hope to rival the Japanese in personal cleanliness and vigor. By some method we must make children understand that a clean tooth cannot decay and that a sound tooth, in the words of Cervantes, is worth more than a diamond. We must bring it about that parents of the succeeding generation will appreciate the fact that it is better for a child to reach his majority penniless with two full rows of sound teeth than with thirty thousand dollars but on the highroad to early toothlessness.

The second necessity is the establishment of free dental clinics in connection with the schools for the compulsory repair of all defective teeth. In matters relating to the teeth, preventive treatment is all-important. Fifty cents for dentistry in childhood will save many dollars later, to say nothing of the insurance it offers against inefficiency, disease, and premature death. In Germany the dental clinic in the school is no longer an experiment. Wherever tried, the good that is accomplished is so palpable and the co-operation of the public is so easily secured that there is no evident reason why these clinics should not become universal.

There is perhaps no need to discuss the defects of eyes, ears, and throats. The ill effects of eye-strain, adenoids, and hypertrophied tonsils have been so widely exploited in recent years that most intelligent teachers are familiar with the conditions they present. The difficult problem, however, of securing for every defective child the medical or surgical treatment that his case demands remains unsolved. The subject may be left with the query whether it is logical to stop with compulsory school attendance and compulsory vaccination. If the child has an inalienable right to an education, does he not also have an equal right to such hygienic, medical, or even surgical attention as will render him most capable of receiving the maximum benefits of the educational treatment?

To sum up, three lines of progress are urgent. In the

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first place, the school environment itself needs to be radically reformed. Both school architecture and school occupations will have to cut loose from traditional practices if the school is not to remain a menace to health. Our duty in this is not merely the negative one of refraining from direct injury to the child's body. The educational régime can be made to contribute positively to the child's healthy development.

In the second place, the teaching of personal hygiene will have to be revolutionized. More time should be given to the subject; it should be freed from some of the unscientific vagaries into which it has fallen, and above all it must be made more concrete and practical.

In the third place, health and development supervision in the schools needs to be recognized as equal in importance with the supervision of instruction. Our country spends millions for the latter, but as yet hardly anything for the former. Every city and every county should have its health and development supervisor and the necessary assistants whose rank and salary might well be co-ordinate with those of superintendent and principals. Physical and intellectual education must not remain divorced, and for this reason the work of health supervision cannot profitably be turned over to non-educational boards of health.

When I consider the possibilities of the school as a factor in improving national vitality I sometimes feel ashamed that as a university teacher of education I should ever bother myself or my students about some of the problems we are wont to treat so extensively in our university and normal-school courses: such, for example, as the relative merits of the thousand and one current methods of teaching children the simple art of reading—children who will learn to read anyway by any or no method; or in geographical instruction whether it is more in harmony with the development of the child's mind to begin with back-yard exploration or on the other hand with stories of Darkest Africa.

The average teacher is pitiably lacking in liberal-mindedness and perspective. The hyper-methodical routine of the ordinary school is a deadening procedure for teachers, whatever the effect on the pupils. For illustration, a teacher not long ago sought my advice on the following momentous question: In the first statement of the solution of an arithmetical problem in percentage, which is correct—to say

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"100 per cent.=the cost-price," or "the cost-price = 100 per cent."? Why wonder that teachers as a class are not seriously regarded as a factor in the affairs of the world? What else would do so much to free the teacher from her ridiculous pedantries as a realization of the responsibility of the school for the physical, and therefore the moral, efficiency of the nation? Would not rightly directed effort on the part of the half-million school-teachers of the United States exert a tremendous force toward the physical upbuilding of our population?

That unwieldy leviathan which we call "society" is indeed hard to mold or control, but we are learning that the most effective approach to this end is through the public school. We may not be able to legislate intelligence or desirable habits into men and women, but we can mold after our ideals the plastic mentality of the child. Accordingly, the most characteristic feature of present-day education is its progressive socialization, the increasing extent to which society is utilizing the school as an instrument for the accomplishment of its ends. We are coming to believe that it is legitimate to levy upon the educational system for any contribution it is capable of making to the welfare of society. Finding the ignorant voter swayed by dishonest demagogues, we institute compulsory education to improve the suffrage of to-morrow. When the school is seen to spread smallpox or diphtheria we vaccinate, quarantine, and establish medical inspection of school-children. Does this interfere with parental rights? We acknowledge no parental rights, or any other, which block the way of social progress. This social conception of education is quite familiar. Let us only extend its application to all fields of personal and social hygiene and the school will help to deliver us from a burden which is more oppressive than the burden of militarism, for physical inefficiency, sickness, and premature deaths are costing us as much as all our crime and as much as a good-sized perpetual war besides.

LEWIS M. TERMAN.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE AUTHORITATIVE CRITICISM OF POETRY IN AMERICA

To the twin questions, whether there is a public for poetry in America, and whether there are any poets of great distinction to supply the needs of that public, should be added a third—which must seem to any one who wants an intelligent answer to the first two as, just at present, of even more importance. It is, have we any critics in America who are thoroughly informed and thoroughly capable of judging the output of present-day verse? Or, in other words, how far is the American poet of to-day hindered or helped toward the goal of greatness by the professional judges who are supposed to uphold him in any true achievement or guide him away from the futile pastures of poetic unreality? The question is a vital one if the art of poetry is still to be regarded as a genuine requisite of national inspiration and culture. But it is one that can, perhaps, best be approached indirectly—or through comparisons.

In England, which is geographically a small country, the native poet aspiring to achieve an eminence which will wing his name throughout the British Empire, has only to win London opinion. This is in part due to that country's smallness, which makes it possible for the great daily newspapers to reach all portions of the British Islands within a few hours; in part to the fact that serious men still devote themselves seriously, and competently, to the criticism of poetry—even when not occupants of the dignified, but too often desiccating, chairs of college professorships; and largely to the still well-justified belief of Englishmen that England is, as it has ever been, the native heath of the great makers of song.

In Paris and Berlin also, though they are geographically larger countries, this state of affairs is approximately duplicated. These cities are centers of criticism of sufficient strength and weight to really reward distinction in the eyes of Frenchmen and Germans at large, as well as in the eyes of the outside world. But of America one must assert, without even a hope of contradiction, that there is no city which possesses this power; and that it is time to ask ourselves why this is so and what, so far as poetry is concerned, are the consequences.

Immediately we are reminded, of course, that our country, unlike those mentioned above, is of vast size and variedly independent interests, and that it has a number of great cities, each with its almost equally influential and independent newspapers and periodicals, that judge books

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for themselves. This situation has its advantages, doubtless. But the disadvantageous consequences to the poet, who has not, like the writer of fiction, say, strong advertisement behind him, are continually manifest. The local interests with their local writers are so many, and the spirit of independent and conflicting criticism is so strong in the various cities—New York, Chicago, and Boston, for instance—that the poet has to make not one reputation, but ten: and this at a time when reputation is practically the only reward of his work, and when it is, perhaps, easier to commit theft of poetic reputations than ever before in literary history.

If this be doubted, if there are those who have believed that Boston's former prestige in matters poetical was descending to New York, they must by now be greatly disillusioned. For what Boston has lost New York has certainly not gained. Indeed, so much is unconsciously admitted by several book reviews of the latter city which hardly make an attempt at reviewing American, or other, poetry; nor is there a newspaper, with at present one doubtful exception, that is not in a bad way so far as well-informed and intelligent opinion of poetry is concerned. One might, in fact, after abstracting from New York reviews opinions parroted from abroad, easily maintain that poorer criticism of poetry has come from that seething metropolis during the last year, than from any other city of size in America.

So far as the American poet is concerned, this lack of a critical center for his wares would be of less moment if he had any authoritative opinion whatever to appeal to; if there were in his literary Sodom and Gomorrah a half-dozen competent and trained men of consequence who were by profession, and love, critics of poetry. But setting aside such men as Brownell, Woodberry, William Lyon Phelps, and others, who can or will swim in nothing more recent than Victorian critical waters; or such as Huneker and one or two of foreign extraction who keep almost entirely to exotic European currents, there is only the rare but still powerful pen of Mr. Howells to remind us from time to time that the criticism of poetry and the appreciation of American poetry by any one of high distinction is not a lost art.

It is not meant by this that America has no competent poetic critics. Scattered over the country on various newspapers—or, occasionally periodicals—there are doubtless a score of men and women with as true and keen a faculty of judging verse as one could find in London, Paris, or Berlin. But these writers do not aspire to any professional permanency of constructive criticism.

And it would go hard with any of them if they did so aspire, since there is scarcely a higher review in America that would publish an article dealing with American poets—unless, perhaps, that article were a reassertion of the ignorant but never outworn cry that America has no poets: a cry that is always an excuse to certain people for the guilt of having lost poetry from their soul-contents. Such critical considerations of the work of contemporary American poets as are constantly appearing of English and French poets in the higher periodicals of those countries, is practically unknown with us.

With, then, no strong critical center, no authoritative court of appeal, and with, admittedly, no public behind him, our native poet is often

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much put to. And he cannot look to literary folk of other professions—to writers of fiction, editors, college professors, and literati of various kinds—for consolation. Poetry is with them an obsolete form of culture, and the poet who can only make a living for posterity—not for himself and his own generation—is the "poor relation" indeed.

Nor is this all. The American poet who keeps to his profession for years must prevail not only against the ordinary amount of incompetent criticism to which all writers alike must submit, but as well against a large number of prejudiced persons to whom the reviewing of poetry often falls in newspaper and magazine offices, and who may damn him with a license against which, because of his lack of a considerable audience, he is entirely powerless. No clearing-house is demanded by public opinion in these matters, so the defrauding of genius is mere child's play.

These prejudiced persons are for the most part smaller poets, who, for lack of means or ability, have been compelled to take to criticism for a career, and who use the petty power so obtained to keep properly humble those poets whom they personally dislike or to whose work some jealousy, natural or unnatural, makes them hostile.

As there are many of these poet-critics dragging at the life of poetry in America, it is a matter worth remedying. Meanwhile, whoever is interested should thoroughly discount the animadversions of every poet who has not ripely turned critic, until at least a higher tribunal of authoritative criticism has been established over our letters. Nor should those who care for the welfare of American poetry be misled by the excessive praise which these poet-critics often give to English poets or to their particular friends, as a contrast to their often guilty depreciation of work by other Americans. For there is always a sufficiently strong inclination among American reviewers to out-English the English themselves in doing justice to poets of genius, to regard any voice with a London accent, be it little or large, as of more real importance than any that is American. And if the reason for this is that our critics are still hypnotized by their English ancestry and tradition—noble as these are and continue to be poetically—it nevertheless results in making the truism that a prophet is not without honor in his own land doubly effective against the ill-starred American poet.

Great critics, then, or even serious professional judges of poetry are sadly needed among us, and until one or two manifest themselves let us have an end of this cry, coming too frequently from those who are not truly informed or unprejudiced, that we have no great poets.

RUSSELL HART.

"VESTED RIGHTS"—IN REBUTTAL

In the July issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the article by Mr. Cyril Dos Passos, "Vested Rights: A Refutation of Vice-President Marshall's Views," presents an interesting debate.

It would seem, however, that a close study of the early history of law would lead to the conclusion that the Vice-President and Mr. Dos Passos are each only half right.

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The Vice-President, as reported, states that both the right to inherit and the right to bequeath and devise are not inherent or "natural" rights, but are privileges conferred upon the individual by the State, and could therefore be taken away. Mr. Dos Passos says that both the right to inherit and the right to devise *are* natural and inherent and cannot be taken away. Each vigorously denies the whole of what the other affirms.

I would say that the right to inherit has always been considered an inherent or natural right, while the right to devise has not been so considered, but on the contrary was not recognized by any of the early peoples from whose customs our institutions have so largely sprung. The right to inherit is the right of the living, and within my knowledge this has never been seriously denied by any society of men, whether tribe, gens, hundred or State. On the other hand, the right to devise and bequeath which is a right of the dead and respected as such, is a privilege distinctly conferred by society upon the individual.

Consider two early peoples, the Anglo-Saxons and the Romans. And here it is fitting to say that no part of our legal structure has been influenced by the Roman or civil law so much as has our law of inheritance and succession. This is due to the fact, largely, that the clerks, monks, and abbots of the mediæval Church, all of whom were versed in Latin learning, were the only ones capable of writing wills. They were present at the death-bed, wrote the will, became the repositories of the instrument, and through the ecclesiastical courts attended to the administration and distribution of the deceased's estate. At a very early period the Church constantly taught that men should atone for wrongs done during lifetime by gifts for the relief of the poor and for other pious purposes, thus incidentally acquiring great wealth for herself. And the ecclesiastical courts, as a matter of course, applied the principles of Latin jurisprudence.

The Roman right of inheritance was predicated upon the "universal succession." The patriarch of the family was invested with the *universitas juris* or bundle of rights and duties which he held as guardian and trustee for the family. The identity of the individual was swallowed up in that of the family. The family was the unit of society. It partook of the nature of a corporation sole. It never died. If the chieftain or patriarch passed away, "long lived the king." When a Roman citizen adopted or *adrogated* a son, not already under *patria potestas,* he succeeded universally to the property and liabilities of the child, much as does an assignee in bankruptcy. Inheritance, therefore, was simply the universal succession of the *haeres* at the death of the patriarch. The deceased did not live on in the representative capacity of the heir, but the family did.

Such was their inheritance. In regard to wills and testaments, however, the evidence seems conclusive that they were only allowed to take effect upon the failure of those entitled to the inheritance by right of blood relationship. First came the *sui,* or direct descendants; next, the *agnates;* third, the *gentiles* or collective members of the dead man's gens. The testament could only stand when there were no gentiles to be found or when they waived their rights. The first Roman will was always executed in the *Comitia Calata,* thus showing the testamentary right not to

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be inherent in the individual. If in the *comitia* complaint was made by any aggrieved by its dispositions, the testament was vetoed at once.

So when the laws of Solon gave the Athenians testamentary power, they were forbidden to disinherit their direct male descendants. Similar provisions are to be found governing the will of Bengal, and the rabbinical testament which supplied a defect of the Mosaic law that nowhere recognized a testamentary right.

And centuries after the Twelve Tables of law, we find the remedy called *querala inofficiosi testamenti* or the "plaint of an unduteous will," which was evoked when children or natural heirs were disinherited. The older Romans never looked upon a will as an instrument for disinheriting a family, but as something to be used only when there was no family, or to make a fairer and more equitable distribution than their later rules of intestate succession gave.

It is noteworthy, too, that their early will was always a conveyance *inter vivos*—between the living—like the Saxon *post obit* gift, and was neither secret nor revocable.

This brief glance at the Roman civil law which so largely influenced our own testamentary law shows that the right to inherit was always considered inherent and natural in the descendants of the dead, but the right to will was not so regarded.

The early institutions of the Anglo-Saxons bear out this same conclusion. For example, Tacitus says of the Germans that they knew nothing of the testament, although they did have rules of intestate succession. The *allod* or fee in those far-gone times was not even susceptible of transfer *inter vivos,* and when later the power of alienating land became recognized, it was very commonly necessary to obtain the consent of the real or presumptive heir before the transfer was made, thus showing the right of inheritance to have been considered natural and inherent. Possibly this consent of the heir gave birth to the "confirm"—*confirmavit*—in the operative words of the conveyance.

The common belief that there was a will before the Norman Conquest is not accepted by Sir Frederick Pollock and other students of English law. What is now said to have been their will was the *post obit* gift, a disposition of property *in præsenti,* to take effect after death, but neither revocable, ambulatory, nor hereditative. This was condemned not so much on account of feudalism and primogeniture, as commonly supposed, but because it was wrung from a man in his death agony, and further because no publicity attached to the act. It was a gift without transfer of possession. It seems that unless authorized by local custom there was no power to devise land in the twelfth century. Later when wills became more common we find in them the denunciatory clause which cursed the heirs if they disputed the gift. Testamentary dispositions of property which were opposed to the interests of the heir were very vigorously condemned by the judges of Henry II., thus duplicating the attitude of the Romans toward disinherison.

Indeed, it is quite possible that the right to devise is so often considered a natural one because in the great majority of cases it is exercised in a natural way. Else why the so-common belief that a will is invalid if it cuts off a natural heir "without a shilling." When children or spouse are disinherited to-day by a devise to strangers to the blood

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of the testator, it is generally supposed that there are exceptional circumstances justifying the act. If not, the instrument is promptly attacked and the attempt made to "break" it under one pretense or the other.

And who will doubt that if in any large locality to-day, or if in any large society of men, a church or secret order, the custom should grow up to disinherit children or wife and bestow the property on strangers, that the legislature or the courts would not at once step in and deny such right to the individual?

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL.

AGAIN "THE ETHICS OF MIRACLES"

WEST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY, *July 9, 1913.*

DEAR EDITOR,—Kindly permit me to reply to the article, "The Ethics of Miracles," in the June number of the REVIEW. The writer objects to miracles, on the ground of their partiality to some and injustice to others. But the same objection can be urged against the most frequent and universal laws of nature. Reference was made by the writer of the article to the "miraculous draught of fishes." Two fishermen are favored, the others are not; this is unjust. But does not nature endow some men with the ability to catch fish, while others are not so endowed? Is such a condition wrong, or unjust? It is not a question of ethics. It is not a question of justice, or injustice.

The blind man is referred to, and his healing is a partiality which is condemned. But nature is constantly working out the same kind of acts. Some children are born blind; some are not. It is not a question of ethics.

The widow of Nain lost her son and his being brought back to life was a partiality. Again, Nature works her same kind of partialities. There are homes remaining unbroken for years; other homes are always in mourning.

The objection to miracles from the ethical standpoint, from the standpoint of "ought such things to be?" can be urged against conditions of human life which have always manifested inequalities. One child is born inheriting a strong body and capable mind; another inherits the very opposite. It is not an unethical situation. It is non-ethical. It does not belong to the sphere of ethics.

Whether the miracles of Jesus be historically true, is one of question. The solution of that question is not furthered by considering it from the ethical point of view.

If there be a personal God, then the present inequalities of life exist by His permission and arrangement. If the personal God once chose to work by miracle, that also was His arrangement. Ethics pertains to one no more than to the other. They both are non-ethical conditions.

I am, dear sir,

J. M. CORUM, JR.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

IMMIGRATION: A WORLD MOVEMENT AND ITS AMERICAN SIGNIFICANCE. By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

THIS scholarly book is perhaps a little too inclusive in its point of view for the utmost value and effect. An introduction which academically points out the differences between immigration on the one hand and conquest, invasion, and colonization on the other, seems time-wasting in a book designed for practical people in a busy age. Again, with proper deference to the respected historic method, the reader will perhaps feel that the account Mr. Fairchild gives us of American immigration in the past is lengthy and detailed out of proportion to its usefulness in shedding light upon present problems. That the immigration problem of to-day is vastly different from that of fifty or a hundred years ago is readily understood; and much more than this may be understood from reading Mr. Fairchild's narrative, if a learned mastery of the subject is desired. The main point, however, is that the problem has changed. In the author's own words: "The old stock arguments, pro and con, which seem to have stood the test of time, need to be thoroughly reviewed. The modern immigrant needs to be viewed in the setting of to-day. Especially must it be borne in mind that the fact—if such it be—that immigration in the past has worked no injury to the nation, and has resulted in good to the immigrants, by no means indicates that a continuance of past policy and practices in the matter will entail no serious evil consequences, nor bring about disaster in the future."

As early as 1841, this country had passed beyond the primitive stage of unlimited opportunity, and the complaint was voiced that immigration decreased wages. By 1850, more than half the paupers wholly or partially supported in the United States were of foreign birth. At the close of the period 1820-1860 a distinct feeling of opposition toward unrestricted immigration had grown up—a feeling intensified by the practice of foreign countries of emptying their poor-houses and even their jails upon our shores. By 1882 the competition of the foreigner in the American labor market began to be keenly felt.

Through such considerations we arrive at the modern period. Mr. Fairchild delves deeply and intelligently into the available statistics. His conclusions based on the obvious facts and figures are checked by reference to undetermined or hitherto unnoticed factors. For example, he points out that the ordinary comparison of the proportion of pauperism among the native and the foreign-born parts of our population is misleading, for the reason that relatively few of the foreign-born have resided in this country for ten or more years. One of the most important differences between the New Immigration and the Old he makes out to be the fact that the New is not to any great extent an immigration of

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families, and the preponderance of males, he shows, is the cause of numerous evils. On the other hand, he considers that there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that as a result of immigration crime has increased out of proportion to the increase in the adult population. If there has been a slight increase in the number of crimes of violence, and of those which may be roughly classed as "disorderly conduct," there has been no such growth in the relative number of "gainful offenses."

The general conclusions of most value have to do, of course, with social and economic conditions. Careful study reveals the fact that the birth-rate in this country first began to decline appreciably about 1830, just the period when the effects of immigration began to be strongly felt, and that it diminished progressively with the swelling volume of the immigration current. As laborers, the author points out, the immigrants are a body of picked men, since the physically and mentally deficient are weeded out by inspection; but there is no doubt that they have depressed the standard of living, and in the light of the decline of the native birth-rate the economic benefit of their presence is highly questionable. That a young and vigorous country should be dependent for its development upon a constant influx of foreigners the author considers "unthinkable"; nor is there any apparent need for the immediate exploitation of *all* our resources. But whether economically advantageous or not, immigration has profoundly affected the distribution of wealth, widening the gap between rich and poor. Moreover, the high percentage of pauperism among the foreign-born adds to the burden of public and private relief, and from such relief the employer of labor ultimately gets the most benefit.

It is of the American significance of immigration that Mr. Fairchild writes most effectively, although his effort to secure a wider outlook is not wholly fruitless. The value of his conclusions, of course, depends not upon novelty, but rather upon the exactness of the statistical methods by which they are reached. The book is restrictionist in trend, but suggests no specific programme.

MEXICO, THE LAND OF UNREST. By HENRY BAERLEIN. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1913.

Mr. Baerlein's book about Mexico is a good book, which, one feels, might easily have been a better book—and a shorter. Mr. Baerlein was special correspondent for the London *Times;* he is an experienced writer and traveler, and the author of several books about foreign countries. Reading what he has to say about Mexico, one acquires a considerable respect for his impartiality as well as for his skill in getting at the facts. One respects, too, the spirit in which he declines, almost contemptuously, it seems, the task of making a systematic whole out of material essentially chaotic. First-hand observations—however miscellaneous—have their value: and what thoroughness of investigation would suffice to lay bare the whole labyrinthine and subterranean history of Mexico under Diaz, and after? Mr. Baerlein is modest as to his facts, but pretentious, or at least perverse, in his mode of presenting them. His apparent dislike of plain, uncomplicated, statement, and his love of sarcasm, are real obstacles to the reader.

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His indictment of Porfirio Diaz is severe. The former president, avers Mr. Baerlein, systematically concealed the truth and suppressed the men who knew him too well. As long as possible his partisans, native and foreign, endeavored to keep the world in ignorance of real conditions in Mexico. However, opposition to the old régime gathered and strengthened, and the revolution which finally swept all before it would have come sooner if Mexicans had not been so "long-suffering and contradictory." The sufficing causes that led to the outbreak were principally these: flagrant abuses of the legal system; Don Porfirio's habit of ignoring the semi-independence of the states, while he inflicted upon them despots cruder and crueller than himself; and finally the unsatisfactory economic condition of the whole Republic. A chapter upon Yucatan gives concrete instances of a state of affairs worse than may be readily imagined. For the most part the author is cautious of sweeping statements, and lets particulars stand for themselves. He succeeds in making us feel, however, that sweeping conclusions might be all too easily rendered convincing if one were disposed to rely upon all sorts of information. No one, he says in effect, can prove certain things about Mexico with mathematical certainty—but here is this case and that, sifted out of much material of the same sort.

The book is unduly long; it reads as if it had been written, in the first instance, anyhow and anywhere, and afterward padded rather than blue-penciled. The Kiplingesque chapter upon "Diaz at the Door of Hell" is a rather sad affair, and there are other flights of rhetoric that could well be spared. Nevertheless, faulty but forceful in style, the narrative makes its impression. Mr. Baerlein keeps pounding away at the myth built up round Porfirio Diaz until little is left of it. "At the start," he fairly and once for all admits, "the methods of Diaz were justified; the country was in chaos, and the treasury was bare, the Constitution could not be regarded, and in fact one does not censure, one praises him, for his un-English statesmanship. A system tantamount to martial law was still applied to a community which had progressed; and in the last ten or a dozen years the autocrat was the center of a most corrupt and most oppressive oligarchy." The result of reading this book will be a more intelligent sympathy with Mexico and an increased disinclination to accept the "necessary evil" plea of her would-be dictators. After all, there are less than five hundred pages in the portentously thick volume, and in these pages there is enough of real interest to warrant an earnest effort to read them through.

THE FLOWERY REPUBLIC. By FREDERICK MCCORMICK. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1913.

Mr. McCormick is a war correspondent, and this is a war correspondent's book—the book of a man who has been in close touch with the events he describes. The author has had plenty of opportunity for observation, time for reflection, evidenced by shrewd comment, but neither time nor material for the sort of philosophical and thoroughly informed discussion of Chinese events and character that we would like, but perhaps are none too likely to get from any source.

The story is generally well told—despite a tendency to lapse into the

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style of a mere diary (event, hearsay, or other item of news being recorded by short paragraphs for pages at a time), and despite a tendency, of contrary effect, toward quoting at unnecessary length documents to which the writer had access. The miscellaneous character of the whole, the insufficiency of the commentary altogether to interpret the facts, and the inclusion of matters of no great apparent significance—all this is excusable considering the chaotic and somewhat mysterious nature of the events with which Mr. McCormick has to deal. His book is not shapely, but it is interesting. The day-to-day and week-to-week record of events is varied and enlivened by bits of personal experience or casual dialogue, and the general stream of the narrative is on the whole broad enough and deep enough to give one a sense of the big movement.

Formal characterization of the chief figures in the revolution is not attempted as a matter of duty, and many of the strange Chinese names remain to us merely names indeed. Yet the personalities of Yuan Shih-Kai and Sun Yat Sen come out in the end strongly. It is a little surprising that we should get such impressions of men whose performances, so far as the narrative makes them plain, seem to consist so largely in self-restraint and in biding their time. Perhaps the effect is due in part to the contrast they make with the purely Oriental activities of those governors and generals who merely spar for time and then run away, and of the Manchu officials whose frantic efforts to resign are disallowed by the Court. There is color, and there are striking touches of character in the book—enough to repay reading apart from the quest for information. Yuan Shih-Kai's official "rheumatism of the leg" and the use he made of it are things to be remembered with joy, nor will one soon forget the incidental and apparently quite irrelevant picture of old General Chiang Kuei-ti "with his cheery face and bent shoulders," who in a time of serious disorder "creeps jauntily into his tight little carriage, and with a very small guard and a headsman following on behind, goes out into the city." The General's stock remark, "You have me," seems an ironic comment on the whole situation.

Altogether *The Flowery Republic* gives an apparently quite complete and certainly very detailed account of the Chinese revolution from the revolt in Szechuan in August, 1911, to the Nanking assembly's transfer of the seat of government to Peking in April, 1912. Of especial interest is the account of the financial embarrassments of the provisional government, of which Sun Yat Sen was the head, which, until an understanding had been reached with Yuan Shih-Kai, could obtain no recognition except from Japan, from which it was afraid to accept it. Our own government, it seems, was committed to the Japanese Cabinet, while the Chinese view was that even that Cabinet was not privy to the plans of the Elder Statesmen. Significant, too, is the chapter upon the present state of China, which follows a moderate and reasonable defense of the Manchu dynasty. "The unrest of China's population," writes Mr. McCormick, "is the greatest proof of China's growth and prosperity. At the zenith of her power she confronts those who have replaced the Manchus. It is obvious that the national antagonism must now be concentrated upon the outsider, whether that outsider is personified in one nation or in all the great powers together. The Revolution has but begun. China is careering onward to her fate, subject per-

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haps alone to that Providence which 'clears the grounding berg and steers the grinding floe.' What will China do when she looks in the glass—when she discovers that the thing ailing her is that she is, not Manchu, but Chinese; when she has nowhere to look but to herself, with no longer a scapegoat upon which to visit her own sins?"

Giving the impression of a book somewhat hastily thrown together, *The Flowery Republic,* nevertheless, makes us feel the actuality of events in China, and gives us as a total result a more closely human view than most of us have had of the Chinese people.

JOURNAL OF JASPER DANKHAERTS. Edited by BARTLETT BURLEIGH JAMES, B.D., PH.D., AND J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH.D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

This volume in the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* is of value to students of history, and has a degree of curious interest for the general reader. Dankhaerts and Sluyters—emissaries of the rather obscure religious sect of Labadists, at that time domiciled in Holland, visited this country during the years 1679-1680, with a view to finding lands suitable for their community. They remained for a considerable time in New York, making excursions into the surrounding regions, visiting Boston, and coming into contact with people of all sorts. Later they journeyed to the South River (the Delaware) and obtained from Augustine Herrman a promise of lands forming part of his vast estate. For those who love authentic details of the past, here is a feast indeed. It is not pretended that Dankhaerts had the qualities of a Pepys or a Woolman, but he observed and recorded with industry and conscientious care. His judgments of persons are, to be sure, somewhat biased by his religious opinions, and his estimate, for instance, of the holiness of the Boston church-goers is probably not to be accepted without a grain of salt. To his mind, Quakers were merely hypocritical nuisances, and the one man in a thousand whom he found in the new country seems to have been John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians." His topographical descriptions are of especial interest, and now and then his droning narrative gives us pictures almost vivid, such as the brief glimpse of Harvard College.

The book has been edited with thorough scholarship. Nearly every person mentioned by Dankhaerts is identified in the notes and almost as many particulars are given about each as would serve for a paragraph in *Who's Who.* In many cases inaccuracies of the diarist are corrected, and no obscurities have been left unclarified.

VOICES OF TO-MORROW: CRITICAL STUDIES OF THE NEW SPIRIT IN LITERATURE. By EDWIN BJÖRKMAN. New York and London: Mitchell Kennerley, 1913.

Among books that bear the marks of a practised hand and betoken sound knowledge, far too many are mere collections of occasional papers, slightly connected in purpose and varying in value. Of such books Edwin Björkman's *Voices of To-morrow* is a rather favorable example. The

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chapters devoted to such writers as Strindberg, Björnson, Selma Lagerlöf, and Francis Grierson, who are comparatively little known in this country, serve admirably as introductions and as awakeners of intelligent interest. On the other hand, the article upon Joseph Conrad reminds us of what we commonly read in reviews of that writer's books and otherwise does little but epitomize what Conrad himself has told us in *A Personal Record*. Writes Mr. Björkman: "And though, with a touch of melancholy seldom found in him, he [Conrad] has told us that all the long and trying years at sea brought him nothing but 'a dozen or so of commendatory letters,' we who read his books know that those years brought him something more: a sense of life's fullness and seriousness that has proved the steadying principle of his art." Those of us who have read *A Personal Record* know at any rate that that book is a prolonged expression of the writer's sense of the value of his quarter-deck training.

Mr. Björkman regards the progress of human thought as a sort of zigzag swing of the pendulum between the skeptical state of mind on the one hand and the mystical state upon the other. At present the swing is toward mysticism—the "new" mysticism, however, for no phase of thought is ever exactly repeated. "Mysticism has always demanded a plunge of some kind, but the distinguishing mark of our new mysticism is that the plunge stands neither for an end in itself nor for a negation of the ordinary modes and objects of consciousness. The mystic of to-day does not dream of extinguishing the searchlight of self-consciousness. He wishes only to reverse it in order that by its light he may explore the world within and thus attain to new sympathy and new understanding for the world without. He is not renouncing knowledge based upon the testimony of the senses and the judgment of the brain: he is instead trying to supplement it with knowledge reached by new routes." All this is sound and well said. However, certain of the writers considered, such as Edith Wharton, have little discernible relation to the main thesis; of others, such as Bergson, the treatment is rather inadequate; and the unity of the whole book seems too much in the nature of an afterthought.

The essays contained in this volume are agreeable and persuasive, though they have value rather as appreciation, tending to eulogy, than as thorough and consistent criticism. It is advantageous no doubt to view Grierson as the prophet of the new mysticism, Maeterlinck as its poet, and Bergson as its philosopher, but an analysis of modern and future currents of thought demands greater depth of treatment, and Mr. Björkman's book which merely scratches the surface of philosophical criticism is a bit disappointing.

JUSTICE AND THE MODERN LAW. By EVERETT V. ABBOTT. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

At a time when many of us are becoming uneasily conscious of possible defects in our legal system as well as in our other institutions, this book by a lawyer about the law is to be welcomed. Its aim is to show the possibility of bringing about a practical identity of ethical ideals and legal practice. Substantially it is a searching criticism

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of legal principles as understood by "the lawyer of the common law," and of the manner in which the law is interpreted by the courts.

The fundamental difficulty, according to Mr. Abbott, lies in the fact that "we buttress wrongs with fallacies which we are entirely capable of exposing. Upon one pretext or another we refuse to apply principles of morality which we have long ago accepted as sound to cases in which their application will interfere with our customary practices." The three essential principles of law and ethics alike are defined as "the egoistic right of freedom, the altruistic duty to help, and the voluntary, reciprocating rights and duties of contract. Instances of the failure of the law to conform to these principles are discussed at some length. In morals, the author points out, there is no sharp line of distinction between slander and the circulation of defamatory truths, yet the law punishes the one and not the other. The right of privacy—which is violated when, for instance, a person's photograph is published against his will—is not uniformly upheld by the courts. These are cases in which the fundamental right of freedom goes unrecognized. Of greater moment are the injustices which arise from confusion regarding the principles of consensual obligation. The constitutional inability of the law to see that there may be a valid contract without consideration moving from the promisee, has greatly complicated all cases of the type in which A promises B to do something for C—a type illustrated by the case of a telegraph company which promises to deliver a message. Morally such cases are clear, but the amount of legal haggling about them has been extraordinary. Again, the principle of *caveat emptor,* which is not a moral principle at all, has been, the author declares, "little less than terrible in its effects." Actions treated by the courts under the head of "negligence," he further maintains, are for the most part either actions of assault and battery or actions for breach of contract. "If their nature had been clearly understood we should probably have escaped the notorious 'fellow-servant' rule, the absurd theories as to 'assumption of risk' and the anomalous doctrine that the plaintiff must allege and prove the absence of what we call 'contributory negligence.'"

A point upon which Mr. Abbott insists as of prime importance is the distinction between rights based upon altruism and those which are grounded in consensual obligation. Confusion of thought in this matter has bred much mischief. There is no doubt that altruistic obligations should be enforceable and have been enforced by law. But their determination is in the nature of things more difficult than the determination of rights based upon expressed or implied promises. When we attempt to fix prices or wages, we should at least remember, he argues, that we are endeavoring to enforce essentially altruistic duties.

Under the heading, "The Law as Practised," Mr. Abbott endeavors to show how the underlying principles of the law have been misunderstood by lawyers. His analysis of price regulation is indicative of his general line of argument. Corporation lawyers, he maintains, have failed to grasp the fact that the fundamental objection to legislative regulation of prices lies in the fact that such regulation is the adjudication of a right in which one of the parties is denied a hearing.

Treating of "The Law as Administered," the author analyzes various decisions of the courts in which, he believes, inconsistent reasons were

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alleged, and justice was warped by unconscious judicial bias, by respect for precedent, or by legal fictions. The courts, while generally honest, have in his opinion given good grounds for popular discontent and suspicion.

Mr. Abbott's book is as clear as Euclid. On the whole, he makes it tolerably plain that a more thorough application to the law of the principles of ethics and logic—an application that might be feared as merely academic—would simplify difficulties and secure the ends of justice. In general, his arguments commend themselves to common sense.

CERTAINTY AND JUSTICE. By FREDERIC R. COUDERT. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company.

This series of essays upon the conflict between legal precedent and the demand for change in the law to meet changes in social conditions and in public opinion suffers from a certain lack of unity, and contains rather more of the sort of historic discussion dear to the heart of the lawyer in love with the lore of his profession than is quite acceptable to the general reader. Certainly discussions of the status and rights of aliens and of the progress of international law in the treatment of political crime seem rather remote from popular interest.

The central thesis of the book is that "the courts are constantly oscillating between a desire for certainty on the one hand and a desire for flexibility and conformity to present social standards on the other. It is impossible that in a progressive society the law should be absolutely certain; it is equally impossible that the courts should render decisions conforming to prevailing notions of equity without thereby causing a considerable degree of uncertainty." Codification is not the remedy, for the problem usually to be solved is not what rule the law prescribes, but which of several rules applies to a given case.

The law does and must change through application to changing conditions. As an instance of "constitutional development, the evolution of the conception of the right of trial by jury is traced. Regarded originally as an inalienable right, trial by jury has at last been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be a mere mode of procedure. As suggestive of change in another direction, the author, comparing the French criminal procedure with our own, finds advantages in the inquisitorial system and questions the wisdom of the principle that the accused need not testify. Discussing the troubled subject of the Sherman Law, Mr. Coudert finds the "rule of reason" not impossible of fairly uniform application. The true meaning of the Act as interpreted by the courts seems to be "that all contracts and combinations which directly tend to restrain trade are unlawful, and that all attempts to monopolize, brought about by whatever methods, old or new, are equally within the statute." As to the charge of vagueness, the author reminds us that "one is forbidden under severe penalties from driving negligently along the highway, and it is for the judge to charge the jury what constitutes negligence." In a later chapter the almost incredibly medieval story of the progress of the law regarding "riparian rights" certainly illustrates the perversion of precedent, though the subject seems not of first-rate importance.

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Mr. Coudert does hardly more than restate problems, but he who makes vital problems appear, as they so often are, matters for gradual adjustment and adaptation rather than for cocksure remedies, performs a real service.

THE COUNTRY CHURCH. By CHARLES OTIS GILL, AND GIFFORD PINCHOT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Apart from statistical matter, which deserves careful study upon the part of those specially concerned in the problem of the country church, this little book may be read through in half an hour, and it is well worth reading by any one who feels the least interest in the general welfare. That the church as a whole, and the country church in particular, is losing something of its former influence is no doubt generally suspected, but few, perhaps, appreciate the importance of the church in country life or the significance of its apparent decline. In his introduction to the volume under consideration, Gifford Pinchot describes the plight of a country community which had been without a church for more than twenty years. The moral and social laxity of this community was flagrant. "Disbelief in the existence of goodness appeared to be common, public disapproval of indecency was timid or lacking, and religion was in general disrepute. Not only was there no day of worship, but also no day of rest. Life was mean, hard, small, selfish, and covetous. Land belonging to the town was openly pillaged by the public officers who held it in trust; real-estate values were low; and among the respectable families there was a general desire to sell their property and move away. When a church was organized, "the change which followed was swift, striking, thorough, and enduring." Comparison of this churchless community with those which keep up a considerable, though lessening, interest in religious matters, points an obvious moral.

The Country Church is published under the authority of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the investigation whose results it embodies grew out of the work of the Commission on Country Life. The method of the investigators was thorough, and, so far as it could be tested, proved exact. The inquiry was limited to two counties—Windsor County, Vermont, and Tompkins County, New York. Within these counties information was gathered upon a large number of specific points, showing the altered conditions that have come to pass in a period of twenty years. Of the questions studied one of the most difficult, as well as important, was that of attendance; for it was found necessary to draw the line sharply between church attendance and church membership. In an effort to answer the question as to the relative increase or decrease of church attendance, recourse was had to the tax list of the county, and, by this and other means, fairly complete lists were obtained of the families living in the county at the beginning and at the end of the chosen period. Carefully selected persons from each church then went over the lists, recording the church-going habits of each member of every family, and the estimates formed in this way tallied almost exactly with the records of counted congregations, of which not a few came to light during the progress of the investigation: in Windsor County such records were found for thirty-five churches.

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The results of this painstaking inquiry show badly as to nearly every point of importance. Church membership in Windsor County increased in the twenty years four per cent., and in Tompkins County two per cent.; but during the same period church attendance fell off nearly thirty-one per cent. in Windsor County and thirty-three per cent. in Tompkins County. The expenditures, expressed in dollars, of the churches in Windsor County increased twenty-three per cent., and in Tompkins County seven per cent.; but measured in purchasing power, or in ability to produce results, the expenditures of the churches in the two counties showed a decrease of two and seven per cent., respectively. Moreover, in these two counties the salaries of ministers, which have increased somewhat in nominal amount, nevertheless when reckoned by purchasing showed a decline of seven per cent. in one county and of sixteen per cent. in the other. The information collected as to the educational equipment of country ministers is likewise far from reassuring. It appears that in the two counties only twelve ministers had completed the regular college and seminary course of seven years. "Thirty-four had received either college or seminary training or both together of from three to six years. Ten had taken the course in reading and study prescribed by Methodist Episcopal Conferences; while forty-seven (or more than half) had received no training which could be regarded as adequate for a minister of the present day." These and a mass of similar facts prove beyond reasonable doubt that the country church is fast losing effectiveness.

What is the remedy for this deplorable state of affairs? The authors point out that no one solution of the problem is possible. The condition of the country church stands in vital relation to the condition of country life in general. But if the church cannot thrive where conditions are bad or backward, it is equally true that in the coming reconstruction of country life the church must play the most important part. Improvement and decentralization of schools is strongly advised. Disuse of antiquated methods on the part of the churches and the substitution of a programme of social service, is a clearly indicated necessity. A more effective ministry is urgently needed; and here truly is an opportunity for labor of a genuinely consecrated sort. Finally the evils of "overchurching" must be overcome through friendly co-operation along practical lines.

The country church is one of the most essential agencies of civilization; it is plain that its power for good has weakened alarmingly; remedies none too easily applicable, but in part proved effective, are available—such is the message of this clear, trustworthy, and significant book.

EUROPEAN CITIES AT WORK. By FREDERIC C. HOWE, PH.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Without delving very deeply for causes, or analyzing methods in great detail, Dr. Howe gives us rapid and interesting sketches of the municipal activities of many German and some British cities, and of the results achieved by them. This makes fascinating reading. Pleasanter than romance is the series of pictures which the book calls up before our minds—pictures of well-planned cities, of beautiful streets, magnifi-

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cent railway stations, suburbs laid out with a view not only to convenience, but to comfort and coziness. More rewarding than most traveler's impressions are the thoroughly informed comments of the author upon municipal causes and effects.

The implied, and sometimes expressed, contrast of American with European cities gives zest to the book. Certainly in America "the city has grown faster than our city sense," and we have not yet learned "to think in big-community terms." As we read of the surprisingly large number of things which the German city successfully does—not only of municipal lighting and street-railway systems that actually pay a profit and of public works undertaken in a big-visioned way, but also of forms of taxation which place the principal burden upon the rich, and of compensation and insurance laws that protect the working-man—when we read of all this we inevitably begin to feel that we are sadly behind the times. To be told, in addition to all the rest, that in Germany the theater is subsidized, with advantage to general culture; that the cities provide generously for amusement in connection with public or semi-public places; that nearly all the larger towns maintain symphony orchestras with official directors—such facts as these serve to emphasize a contrast that is otherwise almost too obvious for comfort.

The contrast gives zest to the exposition, but it also excites curiosity. How is it that the Germans succeed so well? What is the cause of our own relative backwardness? How may be best profit by foreign examples? Precise answers to such questions evidently lie a little beyond the aim of the present book. Such answers as Dr. Howe gives are rather general, and not altogether encouraging.

The advantage of the German city, it appears, lies very largely in its freedom under the State to do anything it is not expressly forbidden to do. The American city, on the other hand, is under bondage to the State legislature. "Privileged interests, political bosses, and suspicious farmers have been engaged for a generation in welding chains about our cities until they have become our most helpless and inelastic political agencies." Home rule and the creation of civic pride are the remedies for the existing municipal inefficiency. So far, so good; but it also appears that the German city owes a large part of its efficiency to a bureaucratic form of government which we can hardly think of as tolerable in this country. In effect the government is in the hands of the wealthier classes. The business men who rule the city, we are told, have risen above the interests of class. Not only do they govern in behalf of the people, but they have actually shifted the burden of taxation from the poor to their own shoulders. They have taxed their own incomes. The income tax is the central feature of the system, and provides from one-fourth to one-half of the total tax receipts.

Of especial interest is the successful application by the Germans of the principle of taxing land values. Such taxation has proved effectual in discouraging any one from acquiring land except for use; it has facilitated municipal improvement; and it derives revenue from the value which the community as a whole creates.

At thought of an American city governed by a plutocracy in the interests of the whole people we cannot, perhaps, prevent the "cynic devil in our blood" from chuckling a bit. Comparison of foreign city govern-

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ments with our own makes our municipal problems seem all the more formidable. It is no part of Dr. Howe's plan, however, to advocate definite changes. His book supplies facts formative of opinion, and will help to create that "city sense," the lack of which he deplores.

THE ORIGIN AND IDEALS OF THE MODERN SCHOOL. By FRANCISCO FERRER, TRANSLATED BY JOSEPH MCCABE. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

The publication of this book, of which the original is a manuscript found among Ferrer's papers after his death, was worth while—not on the ground that it contains any educational theories of great value, but precisely because Ferrer in Spain seems to have been fighting in large part for what in this country we have practically attained. Ferrer is thus to our minds justified. As self-portrayed in these pages, he appears as a sincere and upright man, as an atheist with a curious faith in the power of science and positivist philosophy to save mankind, as something of a visionary, and as a gentle extremist. His educational programme, described in a style which somehow manages to be both simple and inflated, makes one think of Rousseau or Pestalozzi rather than of any modern educator. On such points of his theory as the necessity of excluding from the arithmetic all examples having a capitalistic flavor, no comment is needed; nor can we agree that total emancipation of thought in regard to great social questions should be the ever-present aim in the teaching of children. The specimens of essays written by his pupils which Ferrer included in his account of his work, would hardly be regarded by American teachers as satisfactory evidences of progress. Nevertheless, Ferrer had the courage of his convictions, and he died for them. He really took a step in the direction of modern education and of popular education. All honor to him for what he did and for what he undeservedly suffered! His importance in modern history does not, perhaps, make a knowledge of his career incumbent upon us, but before formulating any sort of opinion about him we should read his *apologia pro vita sua.*

IN THE VANGUARD. By KATRINA TRASK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Those who believe fervently in universal peace will find a pleasant sentimental appeal in Katrina Trask's little play, *The Vanguard.* Mrs. Trask has a gift for expressing the sentiment of the wholesome—for making kindliness and sweet reasonableness as attractive in their way as the glamour of romantic love. The characters in *The Vanguard* are of the sort which attain a certain convincingness, because they appeal to our good nature and to our affections. But they are none too substantial, and we find it difficult to take them very seriously. The mildly poetic effect of those scenes in which girls and boys dance, singing, upon the village green seems hardly consistent with many prosaic details and with the intended horror of battle scenes. But the plot is simple, which is a virtue. We find it hard to believe that a young soldier who had served

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with distinguished gallantry in several battles, who, when his soul revolted at the slaughter of his fellow-men, nevertheless as standard-bearer, carried his colors into the thick of the fray—that such a man should be treated in the village of his birth as a pariah, because his conscience bade him leave the army when his original term of enlistment had expired. Doubtless the villagers would shake their heads over him a bit—but as for making him a martyr, one doubts that they would do him such grace. And would his parents feel his home-coming as a bitter humiliation—would his father refuse to take his hand? No, we cannot help feeling that Mrs. Trask has made some of her characters too narrow-minded in order to increase by contrast the moral breadth of her hero.

The dialogue gives pleasure by its graceful clearness, but often we seem to hear a treble note where a manly bass was intended. Yet lack of a strenuousness and reality may be forgiven even in a drama that deals with war, if it only has genuineness and simplicity and if we feel the current of fine, clear, and above all sincere, sentiment that runs through *The Vanguard,* we shall not complain that what seems intended as a strong protest turns out to be rather a gentle remonstrance.

V. V.'s Eyes. By Henry Sydnor Harrison. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

Something more than exaggerated expectation is responsible for the fact that we experience in reading *V. V.'s Eyes* the pang of disappointment so often produced by an attempt to repeat a former success. One feels somehow, throughout this novel, that the author of *Queed* is never exactly in his true vein. It may be said without implied disparagement to the creator of *Joseph Vance,* that Mr. Harrison's style has become a little too De Morganish, and despite a good deal of drollery we miss the fine, free felicity of phrase of the earlier novel. *V. V.'s Eyes* is a good book, much sounder and much more human in its appeal than most, but it simply makes us uncomfortable with the thought that it is always just going to be absolutely enjoyable, which it never quite is.

Doubtless no such person as Queed ever lived and breathed; perhaps he lacked the vital organs. But we believed in him, and we never wholly believe in "V. V." The trouble seems to lie deep in the nature of the theme. Queed was to begin with a "wise fool" and he was quite naturally transformed. His weaknesses endeared him. The girl who helped transform him was just an unusually fine specimen of human girl. But "V. V." is superhumanly good to begin with, and the girl whom he transforms is just plain, selfish, and thoughtless, while her calculating and selfish mamma is so obviously a sort of scapegoat that we almost resent the very able representation of her designing selfishness. To portray attractively the young man of Christ-like character is not easy, and the spoiled daughter of riches—who has nevertheless a soul to be wakened—has to be very attractive indeed to seem worth all the pother. So the little lame slum doctor seems unable to excite all the sympathy he deserves, and it is doubtful if Cally Heth excites any real sympathy at all.

"V. V." trusts everybody, believes that everybody is good, and despite his own embarrassments and perturbed apologies, goes on expect-

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ing everybody to be good, until he makes them so uncomfortable that they turn good. So it happens that Cally Heth could not rest in peace after she had allowed poor drunken Jack Dalhousie's reputation to be destroyed through her silence, nor could she be happy about conditions in her father's cheroot-manufactory—whence came her wealth—nor, finally, could she marry Mr. Hugo Canning, the rich and highly eligible New-Yorker, forgetting V. V.'s eyes and all they told her. Variously but in vain she tries to crush the little slum doctor out of her life, but he is like the man whom Browning's tyrant cannot destroy; he stands erect, catches at God's skirts, and prays, whereupon his would-be crusher is afraid. In brief, V. V.'s half conscious influence—the influence of his faith—makes the story, creating situations pathetic and humoresque.

As to the title character, we are troubled by the thought that some element of manhood is left out of him, so that somehow in real life he "wouldn't work." The other characters are for the most part quite life-like. Cally's poor relations, the slangy, slipshod, sensible Cooneys, are extremely likable—and V. V.'s little girl friend—Mr. Harrison draws little girl friends well—is amusing and dear. Of Mr. Hugo Canning, however, who might have been conceived by the author of *The Inner Shrine,* we see perhaps a little too much. Mr. Harrison does this kind of thing well, but it is not what he does best, and we sometimes wish that he wouldn't portray types.

It seems almost a law of nature that a second novel should not be the equal of a good first novel; but after reading *V. V.'s Eyes* we feel no less friendly disposed toward Mr. Harrison and no less inclined to read his next story. He still retains his power to make us smile, and in the conclusion will perhaps draw tears.

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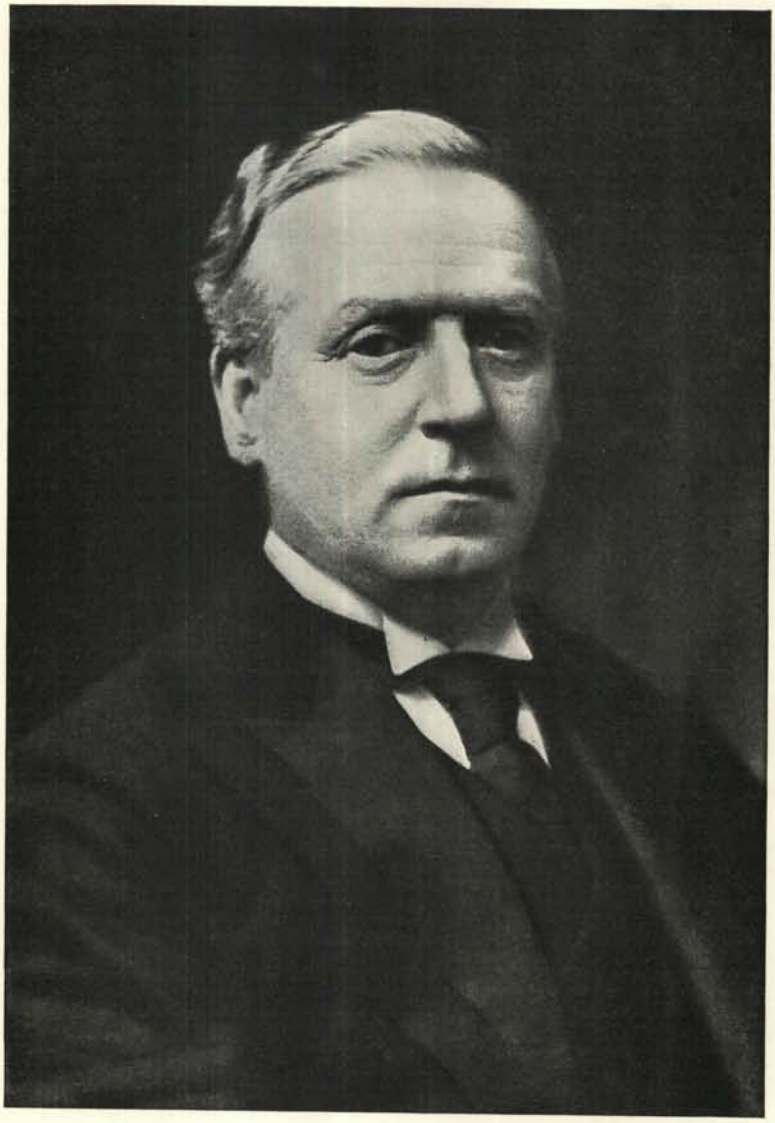

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